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VIEW ON JONES'S FALLS, BALTIMORE. REPRESENTING THE FIRST BAPTISMAL RITES PERFORMED THERE BY THE REVD. JAMES OSBURN [*sic*]. SEPT. 13TH, 1818. DRAWN BY S. SMITH. ENGRAVED BY J. HILL. PUBLISHED BY G. SMITH. NO. 5 SOUTH GAY ST. BALTIMORE. MAY 30TH 1819. * * Aquatint, 41x59.2 cm. Koke 157; Stauffer 1323. MdBPM, MdHi (hand colored), Merrick (hand colored).

An advertisement in the *Federal Gazette and Baltimore Daily Advertiser,* November 19, 1818, laments that since "the rapid extension of buildings in the city of Baltimore is daily encroaching upon the beautiful scenery that its neighborhood presented, to preserve one of those charming views, as a matter of history, which may also serve to embellish the walls of the patrons of the fine arts, the subscriber has caused a FINE SKETCH to be taken of a delightful spot adjacent to col. Howard's seat. . . . This Sketch is intended to be aquatinted by a pupil of the celebrated Jukes, in the very first style. The plate will be 24x18 inches, and the price in the sheet, *Five Dollars*—or be framed splendidly to cost for the plate, frame and glass, *Fifteen Dollars,* in a manner fit to ornament the parlour of any gentleman. . . . Geo Smith, 5, South Gay street." This "charming" view looking northwest across Jones Fall at Biddle Street is hardly recognizable today. The minister performing the rite in midstream had recently established the Third Baptist Church on the site of Baltimore's first Baptist church at Fayette and Front streets, where the Shot Tower now stands. The mansion on the hill to the right, near the present intersection of Preston Street and Guilford Avenue, belonged to William Duncan McKim. The large building behind the smaller dwelling in the foreground is the Salisbury Flour Mill. The building at the extreme right is a plaster-of-Paris mill. The miller's house is behind the trees in the upper center. The drawing was made by S. Smith, probably Samuel Smith, listed in the Baltimore directories from 1824 to 1836 as artist and drawing master; also 1851.

Federal Gazette and Baltimore Daily Advertiser, Nov. 19, 1818; *Maryland History Notes* 4 (Feb. 1947):[1–2].

Proxy Voting in Early Maryland Assemblies

SUSAN ROSENFELD FALB

When George Calvert, the First Lord Baltimore drafted a charter for his colony of Maryland in 1632,[1] he attempted to reconcile his vision of an absolute proprietary government with the traditional rights and privileges of Englishmen. He did this by stipulating that Maryland governors legislate with the "advice and assent," of the freemen.[2] To achieve this "advice and assent," the colony experimented with several forms of assembly organization until 1650 when the proprietor settled on a bicameral assembly. One form was a unicameral meeting composed of members invited by individual writs and burgesses elected from each locality.[3] Another, also unicameral, was composed of members invited by individual writs, and theoretically every other freeman in the province. These freemen were summoned collectively by a general writ; such assemblies will be designated here as "general writ" assemblies to distinguish them from "burgess" or "representative" assemblies. (Seventeenth-century Marylanders were inconsistent in their assembly nomenclature.) For "general writ" assemblies, a freeman not attending in person could select a proxy to cast his votes.

No other English colony used proxies as Maryland did, and this system constitutes a unique experiment in achieving legislative consent. This proxy system, which sometimes confused early Marylanders, continues to confound modern historians. The following discussion seeks to identify the origins of Maryland's proxy system, to clarify the way it functioned in Maryland's earliest assemblies, and to suggest why it was discontinued.

On April 15, 1637, proprietor Cecil Lord Baltimore, George Calvert's son, wrote to Governor Leonard Calvert (Cecil's younger brother) commissioning him to call "a g[ene]rall assembly of all the freemen of this Province to be held at his town of St. maries on the first and twentieth day of January next."[4] The assembly took place at St. John's, the home of provincial secretary John Lewgar.[5] In addition to the Governor, twenty-six men selected proxies. The inhabitants of Kent Island, located a long and hazardous distance up the Chesapeake from St. Mary's, selected three men to represent them: Robert Philpot, Thomas Bradnocks, and Edward Beckler. Unfortunately, we do not know how many "voices" these men held, nor exactly how they were counted for voting purposes. However, in the 1642 general writ assembly, Giles Brent,

Professor Falb teaches at Cornell University.

proxy-holder for Kent Islanders, spoke for seventy-three voices each time he voted.

An early question brought before the 1637/8 assembly was whether the "privilege of parlament"—freedom from arrest during the session—extended to freemen sending proxies. The assembly decided that all freemen were members of the assembly whether they voted in person or by proxy. By extending freedom from arrest to all freemen entitled to attend the assembly, the system paralleled that of the House of Lords.

Probably the House of Lords' proxy system was common knowledge to Maryland's political leaders, and certainly Cecil Calvert knew of it through the Irish House of Lords to which he and his father belonged.[6] Additional evidence that the House of Lords was Maryland's model came from seventeenth-century descriptions of Parliamentary voting.

According to one authority:

> Proxee in a Parliamentary sence is constantly apply'd to such a Deputy of Substitute as is chosen by any Lord Spiritual or Lord Temporal . . . to supply his Deputy in the Lords House, and thereupon his Vote to be as significant to all purposes, as if the absent Lord was present. . . . [Generally the absent Lord chooses another Lord] whereby the Proxee-sitting Lord hath a double Voice.[7]

Another observer of Parliament noted:

> The assent or dissent of the Upper House is in each man severally by himself, and then for so many as he hath by proxy. . . . But in the Lower House, no member can give his voyce to another by Proxy.[8]

In the 1637/8 Maryland assembly, all proxy-holders except the three Kent Island representatives were selected on an individual basis. A freeman who selected one man as his proxy on one occasion might give it to a different person on another occasion, or he might attend some meetings himself; a proxy-holder might in turn give his own vote with that of his proxies to still another person. This pattern was repeated in subsequent general writ assemblies.

When the Maryland assembly became bicameral, each member of the representative lower house had one vote and could not select a proxy in his absence. However, an upper house member, who also had one vote, could and occasionally did select a proxy to vote for him in his absence. That proxy then cast a "double voice."[9]

In the "general writ" assemblies, as in the House of Lords, proxies were cast whenever the assembly voted. This practice contrasted with that of Massachusetts Bay and Plymouth, where proxies were used in elections but not in the General Court.[10] Maryland's system also bore no relationship to the routine and extensive proxy-use allowed by modern corporations, although some historians have suggested that this was the case. In fact, voting in joint stock companies at that time differed from modern practice. The only instance of proxy-use before 1635 was an isolated example which—like Maryland's proxy system—resembled the procedure of the House of Lords.[11]

Confused over the origins of Maryland's proxy system, several historians have also misinterpreted the character of proxy-holders and proxy-givers, a

misinterpretation which has produced an incorrect explanation for the system's demise. According to these historians, proxy-holders were supposed to be Catholic, of high status, and strong supporters of the proprietary government. Proxy-givers, on the other hand, were traditionally held to be lower-status individuals, or, like the Kent Islanders, men living an uncomfortable journey from St. Mary's.[12] An examination of the 1637/8, 1641/2, and September 1942 general writ assemblies shows this interpretation to be inadequate and erroneous.

Sixty-two men attended at least one meeting of the 1637/8 assembly, including Governor Calvert, who presided.[13] Besides the Kent Islanders, sixty individuals gave proxies to assemblymen. Twenty-eight proxy-givers (including seven who themselves held proxies) also attended the assembly for at least one meeting. Distance, then, would not explain why these twenty-eight used proxies. Moreover, at least five of the thirty-two proxy-givers who never attended the assembly lived near the meeting site.

Status also fails to explain proxy-use in this assembly. Of the five proxy-givers identified as living near St. John's, only one was an artisan. And while Roger Oliver, a mariner of low economic status, selected a proxy rather than attend, at least two landless men, Andrew Chappel and James Cauther, sat in the assembly; Cauther even held a proxy. Three proxy-givers were in a special class: Thomas Copley, John Altham, and Andrew White were Jesuits who gave their proxies to Robert Clerk. Later in the session these were excused from assembly attendance at their request. With respect to the other proxy-givers, convenience probably explained which freemen chose proxies. That some individuals changed proxies and others revoked proxies altogether and attended in person indicates a higher level of interest in assembly proceedings than historians usually attribute to proxy-givers.

Freemen holding proxies also elude categorization. Twenty members of the 1637/8 assembly held at least one proxy. Of these, fifteen had held or would hold offices in the provincial government, thereby indicating a tendency for freemen to select proxy-holders who were given or accepted extra responsibilities. Only seven of the twenty were definitely Catholic, and those with known economic status were comparatively well-to-do. Although the total number of proxies held is unknown and no religious information exists for five proxy-holders, the figures indicate that Catholics probably held more proxies: a total of forty-eight compared with twenty-six for the known non-Catholics. (See Table 1.) While this information appears to support the traditional interpretation, in practice, religion was probably an irrelevant consideration in choosing proxies. Protestants gave proxies to Catholics Francis Fabnet and Thomas Cornwallis, while several proxy-givers used Catholics on some occasions and Protestants on others.

Regardless of his religion, anyone strongly supporting the proprietor would presumably cast his votes with Governor Calvert. If proxy-holders as contrasted with non-proxy-holders gave a disproportionate support to the governor, the traditional interpretation would hold. This may be tested in the 1637/8 assembly by examining the six occasions on which the governor voted,

TABLE 1
PROXIES HELD IN THE 1637/8 ASSEMBLY

Catholics		*Protestants*		*Unknown*	
1) Clerk	7	1) Philpott	Kent	1) Beckler	Kent
2) Calvert	7	2) Vaughan	14	2) Cauther	1
3) Lewgar	4	3) R. Evelyn	5	3) Garnett	3
4) Lewis	6	4) J. Snow	2	4) Robinson	1
5) Rabnet	9	5) Baldridge	1	5) Wyatt	1
6) Cornwallis	14	6) H. Fleete	3		
7) Brainthwaite	1	7) Bradnocks	Kent		
		8) E. Fleete	1		
Total: 48		26+Kent		6+Kent	

dissents were recorded, and the individuals voting can be identified. The first such vote was over the exemption of proxy-givers from arrest. In this case, as on all but one of the others, the majority supported Governor Calvert. Only in voting to accept Lord Baltimore's laws verbatim did the governor fail to carry a majority with him. Three other votes with dissents included additional readings of bills, punishments of lesser crimes, and support for the proprietor. The last of the votes was to convict Thomas Smith of murder. Although the assembly acted as a jury, it treated the verdict as it did any other bill, with three readings and inclusion in the list of acts passed.

Twenty-nine individuals besides the governor voted a total of seventy-five times on the six occasions; thirteen of these voters held proxies. (See Table 2.) Instead of demonstrating overwhelming support for Calvert, only twenty-four votes cast by proxy-holders coincided with his position; twenty opposed it. On the other hand, the seventeen men who held no proxies cast twenty-one votes with the governor and only ten in opposition. This shows somewhat more consistent support among those without proxies than among men holding them. In all, only ten men supported the governor each time they voted, and seven of them held no proxies. Two of the proxy-holders always supporting the governor were Catholic. While the third was of unknown religion, his economic status was definitely low: he was the landless proxy-holder James Cauther. Therefore, the tradition of Catholic, high-status proxy-holders strongly supporting the proprietor does not withstand scrutiny with respect to the 1637/8 assembly: proxy-holders comprised no discernible pattern with respect to religion or economic status, and most voted against the governor on at least one occasion.

Shortly after the assembly ended, in April, 1638, Thomas Copley warned Lord Baltimore that "if any factious working man canne but procure an overswaining number of Voices by Proxes, he shall undoe whom he pleases."[14] Possibly this threat frightened the proprietary government into shifting the method of organization, because the 1638/9 assembly was constituted differently. Instead of using a "general writ" for most freemen, the governor told each hundred to elect burgesses who would have one vote apiece in the

TABLE 2
VOTES IN THE 1637/8 ASSEMBLY

*Proxy-holders**					
Name	*W/ Gov.*	*Vs. Gov.*	*Name*	*W/ Gov.*	*Vs. Gov.*
Baldridge	1	2	Broughe	1	1
Cauther	1	—	Cotton	1	—
Clerk	2	3	Edwards	1	—
Cornwallis	2	4	G. Evelyn	2	1
E. Fleete	3	1	Fenwick	2	1
H. Fleete	1	2	R. Fleete	2	1
Lewgar	5	—	Gray	1	1
Lewis	2	—	Greene	2	1
Rabnet	4	1	Halfhead	1	2
Robinson	1	1	Loe	2	1
J. Snow	2	1	Morris	1	—
Vaughan	3	3	Mottershead	1	—
Wyatt	1	1	Nevill	1	—
			Parrie	1	—
			Percy	1	—
			Thomas	1	—
Total:	29	19	Total	21	9

*Only the individual's vote is counted, not the total number of voices he held.

assembly. Calvert would not have tried a new method if uncritical proprietary supporters had used proxies to dominate the 1637/8 assembly. Nevertheless, some historians attribute the eventual demise of the proxy system to Protestant opposition to the "shrewd manipulation" of proxies that enabled Catholics to prevail.[15]

Maryland did not completely abandon general writ assemblies and proxy-use after 1638; two such assemblies were called in March 1641/2 and September 1642. Why Governor Calvert decided to call a general writ assembly in March 1641/2 remains a mystery.[16] The last representative assembly (August 1641) had been adjourned until April 1642, but for "certain weighty reasons," he decided in October 1641 (mislabeled 1640) to call one earlier. The reasons could not have been that pressing because he twice changed the day, settling on March 21, 1641/2. As late as February 4, he intended this to be a representative assembly. But on March 2, he changed his mind and required "all freemen whatsoever . . . to repair personally to the said Assembly . . . or else to appoint and depute some other for their Proxy or deputy." The reason for this assembly was to enact new laws and to consider "other important affairs of this Province."

Sixty men attended at least one meeting of the March 1641/2 assembly, including Governor Leonard Calvert. Only nine members held proxies, and two of these, William Lodington and Richard Thompson, spoke for an unknown number of Kent Islanders. The other seven held a total of thirty-nine proxies; twelve of these proxy-givers attended this assembly on at least one occasion,

and one, Thomas Morris, also held proxies. Distance, then, did not keep these proxy-givers away; and at least five other proxy-givers lived in St. Mary's, two having relatively high status (the economic status of the other three being unknown). Information is available on the economic status of eleven proxy-givers, only two of whom were of low economic status at the time, five middling, and four high. As with the 1637/8 assembly, no pattern emerges with respect to the status of proxy-givers.

A pattern does exist, however, for the proxy-holders. While no status or religious information is available on William Lodington and Thomas Morris, five of the other proxy-holders had high economic or political status, and a sixth, Thomas Green, achieved high status within five years of this assembly. George Pye was of the middling sort.

With respect to religion, three of the proxy-holders were Catholic (Cornwallis, Green, and Lewgar); Baldridge and Thompson were Protestant.[17] Very little is known about the religion of proxy-givers. Of the thirty-nine, seven were definitely Protestant and three were Catholics. Of these ten men, two gave their proxies to others of the same religion, but the sample is much too small to conclude that this was the pattern. In the assembly as a whole, we know the religion of half of the members; eighteen (sixty percent of those known) were Protestant and twelve (forty percent) were Catholic. Therefore, it appears that a disproportionate number of Catholics held proxies. The number of proxies held, however, again muddies the picture, making it difficult to generalize about the effect of religion. The three Catholics held eleven proxies in their own right. Thomas Green picked up additional proxies by becoming proxy-holder for Thomas Morris (of unknown religion) who himself held ten proxies. Protestant Thomas Baldridge held only three proxies, but Protestant Richard Thompson (along with William Lodington) spoke for predominantly Protestant Kent Island. As in 1637/8, the exact number of Kent Islanders is unknown today. The other three proxy-holders with unknown religion held a total of fifteen proxies (including Morris's ten).

As with the 1637/8 assembly, the voting record for 1641/2 reveals virtually no information explaining who held proxies, for whom, and why. Most bills were passed either with general assent, or else unanimously. A bill promoting an "Expedition for the Indians" was passed by the "Greater part" providing "it was not to be left entrusted to the discretion of the Lieutenant General and Council." Presumably, Governor (Lieutenant-General) Calvert, John Lewgar, John Langford, and Thomas Gerard voted against the bill since all were council members, but no breakdown was given for this or any other vote during the session. Therefore, no determination could be made as to whether the votes of proxy-holders tended to coincide with those of the governor.

The next assembly—originally scheduled for June 1, and actually beginning July 18—was a representative assembly attended by the governor and eight men by individual writ, and ten others as elected burgesses. Shortly after the session opened, Robert Vaughan of Kent requested that the assembly separate into two houses. This early request for a bicameral assembly—perhaps the first for an English colony—was promptly refused by the governor.[18] However,

the surfacing of an incipient antiproprietary political faction may have influenced the decision to give the September 1642 assembly a "general writ" organization.

This assembly was called on August 22, and began as scheduled on September 5.[19] Twenty-three men attended, and of these, sixteen or 69.6 percent held proxies. Of these, four also gave proxies; but, unlike proxy-holders in previous assemblies, they gave away only their own vote. The other people they represented apparently were able to select different proxies.

Among the proxy-holders were seven Catholics and four Protestants; six Protestants and nine Catholics attended the assembly. (The other eight were of unknown religion.) One hundred eleven men plus the seventy-three Kent Islanders who selected Giles Brent gave proxies. Of the proxy-givers outside of Kent Island, ten were Protestant and seven Catholic, far too small a sample for confident generalizations. But even if no overall pattern may be discerned, the notion that proxy-holding followed rigid religious lines may be discounted. At least four individuals gave their proxies to men of a different religion than they professed, and predominantly Protestant (and frequently rebellious) Kent Island, selected Catholic Giles Brent to represent them.[20]

We have more detail on the discussion in the September 1642 assembly than on the preceding general writ assemblies. In addition, several votes were recorded. The bills themselves were presented by a predominantly Catholic committee consisting of the Governor, Thomas Cornwallis, Giles Brent, Secretary Lewgar, John Langford, Thomas Greene, George Binks, and Nicholas Hervey. Because no known Protestants were appointed, it is possible that all committee members were Catholic. But similarity in religion did not prevent serious disagreements among the committee members. For example, "The Bill for Officers was much opposed by Capt. Cornwalleys and Mr. Brent as unnecessary as giving away their Liberties. . . ." Ultimately this bill was not reported out.

Controversies occurred in the full meetings as well. Once again, no pattern with respect to religion or status emerges over the way proxy-holders voted. Captain Cornwallis, holding at least nineteen proxies, opposed the Governor on the nine votes where opposition existed, and Giles Brent joined him in eight instances. On the final "Day of Sessions," the twenty-five bills that the committee reported were passed.

If any conclusion may be drawn concerning proxies in this session, it is not one of control of proxies by a proprietary or antiproprietary faction. Rather, the major result seems to be the small number of men who decided to attend the assembly. This might indicate that the time for direct democracy had passed in the growing colony. However, the large number of voices held by Cornwallis and others who opposed the governor on several votes possibly convinced Calvert that he had a better chance for success in unicameral assemblies attended by his councillors and elected burgesses, each of whom had one vote.

Shortly after this assembly, two successive rebellions disrupted Maryland, and government records are fragmentary where they were not totally

destroyed. The next completely recorded assembly occurred in January 1647/8, and its original constitution was that of a general writ assembly.[21] During this session, Margaret Brent became the first woman in America to request the vote. Therefore, the assembly deserves a place in history. However, Governor Thomas Greene, after successive adjournments, changed the format of the assembly from general writ to one centered around sixteen men appointed by the governor. Because of its unique organization, and the fact that Greene was soon discredited, this assembly should be placed in a special category rather than be considered the final general writ assembly. Two years later, Lord Baltimore formally established bicameral organization in the assembly; councillors in an upper house and burgesses sitting separately in a lower one.[22] Thereafter, bicameral assemblies were used when the proprietor controlled Maryland, and after Maryland became a state, have continued to be the practice.

Neither Catholic conspiracy nor rebellion by "factious workingmen" sufficiently explains the demise of Maryland's proxy system. A growing population inevitably would have brought an end to the direct democracy aspects of general writ assemblies. Moreover, as early as 1642, a large majority of Maryland freemen preferred selecting proxies to attending in person. This in itself should not have brought an end to the system because the Calverts preferred to control the proceedings as much as possible.[23] More likely, Governor Leonard Calvert's failure to dominate the assemblies convinced Lord Baltimore to use other methods of organization. Whatever the reasons for their abandonment, general writ assemblies with their use of proxies remain significant as a unique experiment in giving every freeman a voice in legislation.

REFERENCES

1. Dates in this article are rendered in Old Style, that is, according to the Julian Calendar used by England and her colonies until 1752. During the seventeenth century the Old Style Calendar was ten days behind the New Style (Gregorian) Calendar and its years began on March 25 instead of January 1. Where dates in this article fall between January 1 and March 24 both Old and New Style years are given, e.g., February 1, 1634/5.
2. "The Charter of Maryland," in Thomas Bacon, *Laws of Maryland,* (Annapolis: Jonas Green, 1765), unpaged.
3. Such assemblies occurred in 1639 and 1642. The exact composition of the 1644/5 and December 1646–January 1646/7 assemblies is unknown, although the latter had some type of bicameralism. William Hand Browne, et. al., eds., *Archives of Maryland,* 82 vols. (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1883–), I: 203–210.
4. The assembly is in Browne, *Archives,* I: 1–24.
5. St. John's is being excavated by archaeologists from the St. Mary's City Commission, St. Mary's, Maryland. See Garry Wheeler Stone, "St. John's: Archaeological Questions and Answers," *Maryland Historical Magazine,* 69 (Summer, 1974): 146–168.
6. *Calendar of State Papers, Ireland,* Robert Pentland Mahaffy, ed., 2 vols. (London: Her Majesty's Stationers Office, 1900–1910), I: 77; II: 55; Cortlandt F. Bishop, *History of Elections in the American Colonies,* 3 vols. (New York, 1893), III: 34.
7. William Hakewill, *The Manner of Holding Parliaments,* (n.c.: for I. Benson, 1641), unpaged.
8. John Pettus, *The Constitution of Parliaments in England,* (London: for the author, 1680), p. 287.
9. For an example of proxy use in the Maryland upper house, see Browne, *Archives,* I: 511.
10. Alfred de Grazia, *Public and Republic: Political Representation in America,* (New York:

Alfred Knopf, 1951), p. 57; George H. Haynes, *Representation and Suffrage in Massachusetts, 1620-1691*, Johns Hopkins University Studies, XII (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University, 1894), pp. 69, 69n, 70n; Andrew C. McLaughlin, *The Foundations of America Constitutionalism*, (New York: New York University, 1932), pp. 53-54; Mary P. Clarke, *Parliamentary Privilege in the American Colonies*, (New Haven: Yale University, 1943), p. 138; *The Laws and Liberties of Massachusetts Reprinted from the Copy of the 1648 Edition in the Henry E. Huntington Library*, (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University, 1929), p. 15.

11. This case was in the Virginia Company, January 1621/2 when George Mordan of Norfolk was granted permission to use Samuel Wrote as his proxy. However, no evidence exists that Wrote actually cast votes in Mordan's name. Susan Myra Kingsbury, *The Records of the Virginia Company of London*, (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1906-1935), I: 578. The following works describe systems of voting that appear to preclude proxy voting: John Latimer, *The History of the Society of Merchant Venturers of the City of Bristol*, (Bristol: Arrowsmith, 1903), p. 79; Maud Sellers, ed., *The Acts and Ordinances of the Eastland Company*, The Camden Society, 2 vols. (London: Offices of the Royal Historical Society, 1906), II: 23; *The Dawn of British Trade to the East Indies as Recorded in the Court Minutes of the East India Company, 1599-1603)*, (London: H. Stevens and Sons, 1886), p. 178. Theodore Rabb in private correspondence (September 9, 1976) and Philip Barbour in several conversations (May-June 1976) were helpful to me with respect to the question of voting in joint stock companies.
12. John E. Pomfret with Floyd M. Shumway, *The Founding of the American Colonies, 1585-1660*, (New York: Harper and Row, 1970), p. 90; Clarke, *Parliamentary Privilege*, p. 188; and Alfred Pearce Dennis, "Lord Baltimore's Struggles with the Jesuits," *American Historical Association Annual Report for the Year 1900*, (Washington, D.C.: American Historical Association, 1901), p. 117.
13. A prosopographical analysis of the assembly members is in Susan Rosenfeld Falb, "Advice and Ascent: the Development of the Maryland Assembly, 1635-1689," (Ph.D., diss., Georgetown University, 1976), p. 41; the members are listed on p. 446, and the biographical references are listed in Appendix II.
14. *Calvert Papers*, Maryland Fund Publications, 27 vols. (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1889), XXVII: 169.
15. Dennis, "Lord Baltimore's Struggles," p. 117. See also Newton Mereness, *Maryland as a Proprietary Province*, (New York: Macmillan, 1901), p. 195; Matthew Page Andrews, *Tercentenary History of Maryland*, 3 vols. (Baltimore: S. T. Clarke, 1925), I: 99.
16. For this assembly, see Browne, *Archives*, I: 111-124. References for its members who also served in 1637/8 or representative assemblies may be found in Falb, "Advice and Ascent," Appendix II. Information on other members was taken from Browne, *Archives*, *passim*, and unpublished patent, count, and probate records in the Maryland Hall of Records, Annapolis, Maryland.
17. Langford might have been a Catholic since he was surveyor-general but such a surmise would be based on the assumption that this time the Calverts only appointed Catholics to high office, and that has not been proved.
18. For this assembly and an interpretation of the origins of bicameralism in Maryland, see Falb, "Advice and Ascent," pp. 46-59, 502-503.
19. For this assembly, see Browne, *Archives*, I: 165-210.
20. Perhaps Brent, Kent's commander, did not permit any Protestants to compete for the post of Kent proxy-holder, but the fact remains, he controlled the votes of many Protestants in the assembly.
21. See Browne, *Archives*, I: 211-233.
22. For speculation as to why bicameralism was acceptable in 1650 but not in 1642 see Falb, "Advice and Ascent," pp. 56-57.
23. As late as 1650, Lord Baltimore tried to convince the assembly to pass verbatim the laws he proposed. For discussions of initiative see Browne, *Archives*, I: 262-272, 280, 317: *Calvert Papers*, pp. 158, 189.

Alexander Malcolm: Musician, Clergyman, and Schoolmaster

JAMES R. HEINTZE

ALEXANDER MALCOLM WAS KNOWN NOT ONLY IN HIS NATIVE SCOTLAND BUT also throughout most of Europe as a scholar and teacher of mathematics and music. His fame rested primarily on his four treatises, written during 1718–1731. His discourse on music was particularly significant in that it influenced, for almost a hundred years after its publication, the thinking of numerous theorists and historians.

But Malcolm, having decided to give up a potentially secure future, left his homeland for the colonies. He was, in fact, the most significant music theorist to have immigrated to the colonies during the eighteenth century. He quickly adapted to his new surroundings, first, as a school teacher and founder of, perhaps, the earliest free school in New York, and then, as a clergyman in Massachusetts. His most satisfying post, however, was that of rector of St. Anne's Church in Annapolis, Maryland.

Annapolis offered Malcolm much of what he had previously been accustomed to in Edinburgh and Aberdeen; unsurpassed standards and tastes in music, theater, literature, and art.[1] Musically, Annapolis compared favorably, during the time of Malcolm's tenure, to larger centers of culture, such as Philadelphia or Charleston. There were concerts, both public and private, theatrical performances with musical accompaniment, and balls, club meetings, and gatherings at coffee houses and taverns, where music was heard.[2] Many of the town's residents owned musical instruments and obtaining or repairing an instrument was not at all difficult. Several merchants, both in and around Annapolis, stocked music and instruments.[3] It was, in short, a spiritually healthy environment for Malcolm.

Malcolm contributed to the refinement of cultural Annapolis in that he assisted in organizing concerts, participated in them, and because of his musical erudition, served as chief musical conscience for his friends and associates.

There is no substantial information concerning his childhood and residence in Scotland. Some writers believe that he was born in 1687.[4] Malcolm Lloyd, Jr., states, however, that Alexander is often confused with his brother, John, who was born in Edinburgh on March 28, 1687, and who, like Alexander, became a schoolmaster. Lloyd believes the correct birth date is December 25, 1685.

Mr. Heintze is Music Librarian in the Department of Performing Arts at the American University.

Malcolm's childhood was probably spent in Edinburgh, since it is known that his father was minister at Greyfriars Church there from 1681 to 1687. According to baptismal records, Malcolm and his wife, Mary Neilson, had four children, Alexander, Elizabeth, Quinton, and Gilbert, born between the years 1724–1731.[5]

As a young man, Malcolm's time was devoted to not only teaching mathematics and related disciplines, in both Aberdeen and Edinburgh, but also writing various treatises on mathematics and music. His first work was *A New Treatise of Arithmetic and Book-Keeping* (Edinburgh, 1718). His *New System of Arithmetic, Theoretical and Practical* (London, 1730) was written while serving as a "publick teacher" in Aberdeen, and was designed to promote "Learning and all good Education."[6] His *Treatise of Book-Keeping or Merchants Accounts* (London, 1731) was based on the course of lessons which he had "for many years, read to students."[7]

It was his *A Treatise of Musick: Speculative, Practical and Historical* (Edinburgh, 1721), however, which was his most well-known and influential work.[8] An advertisement for the work in the local newspaper reveals Malcolm's residence as having been "in the Cowgate opposite to the Foot of Burnet's Closs."[9] Intent upon establishing his name among musical circles outside of Scotland, Malcolm prudently dedicated the book to the members of the Royal Academy of Music in London. In addition, he also sent a copy of the work to Johann Mattheson, a noted German music scholar, who praised its "tiesse Gelehrsamheit und gesunde Gedancken."[10]

John Hawkins, the English music historian, also considered Malcolm's work valuable and included a definitive abstract of it in his own history. Summarizing the work, Hawkins stated:

> Extensive as the subject is, the author [Malcolm] has contrived to bring under consideration all the essential parts of the science. In a word, it is a work from which a student may derive great advantage, and may be justly deemed one of the most valuable treatises on the subject of theoretical and practical music to be found in any of the modern languages.[11]

Other historians and theorists referred to his work as well,[12] and, in the colonies, his treatise was read and praised in both New England and the middle colonies, particularly, Maryland and Virginia.[13]

Sometime between 1731 and 1732, Malcolm immigrated to New York, where he formulated plans, in 1732, for promoting the creation of a free school. James Alexander, William Smith, and members of the Morris family supported a petition for the school. Frederick Philipse presented the petition to the New York Assembly.[14]

The school was established, and for the next several years, Malcolm served as "Master of the Grammar-School," teaching "Mathematicks, Geometry, Algebra, Geography, Navigation and Merchants Book-keeping." At times, his position caused him considerable frustration. In 1734 he printed a notice in the local newspaper, establishing a rule that students studying Latin, could not "drop into School at different and uncertain times," a circumstance which

slowed the progress of the other students. Malcolm proposed that only during the months of February and August would beginners be admitted into his school. He also received complaints from some of the parents because he did not teach writing and "That the younger Scholars at this School are in hazard of losing their Writing, through the loss of time, and Diversion, occasioned by their going from one School to another."[15] Malcolm promptly added writing to his list of subjects taught.

By 1740 Malcolm had applied to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts for a position as missionary. Endeavoring to spread Christianity and education, this Anglican organization sent missionaries to most of the colonies and the West Indies. In 1740 it was recorded that "the Society hath appointed the Reverend Mr. Malcolm, late a schoolmaster in New York, and very strongly recommended to the Society for his good Life and Learning to succeed Mr. Pigot in the Mission at Marblehead [Massachusetts]."[16]

As a missionary, Malcolm had to abide by the rules of the Society. He was required, for example, to "wholly abstain from Gaming and all vain pastimes."[17] Whether or not the Society considered music a vain pastime is not known; however, Malcolm did openly discuss the subject and did perform on his violin and flute for his friends.[18]

The musical environment in Marblehead was probably not totally satisfying to a man of Malcolm's musical background. Most of the populace was untrained musically, and probably only a handful of persons knew how to read music. In Boston, John Tufts and Thomas Walter had only recently published their note-reading manuals as first attempts to educate those persons interested in learning how to read music.[19]

On July 28, 1744, Alexander Hamilton, physician from Annapolis, Maryland, visited Malcolm who guided him around the towns of Marblehead and Salem. After his tour of Marblehead, Hamilton visited Malcolm's home, and later commented in his diary, "I went to his house and drank tea with him. He showed me some pretty pieces of music, and played some tunes on the flute and violin. . . . He is the author of a very good book upon music, which shows his judgment and knowledge in that part of science."[20] Hamilton probably described the musical environment of Annapolis to Malcolm.

All missionaries were required periodically to report news of their missions, wherein the Society would publish the most eventful happenings in its annual "Proceedings." In 1745 it was reported that "The Church at Marblehead, under the Care of the Reverend Mr. Malcolm, is very orderly . . ." although "the Dissenters come in great Crowds to hear him upon occasional Sermons."[21]

In 1747 Malcolm wrote the Society defending himself against the accusation that he was a friend of Mr. Hooper, a preacher charged with deserting his congregation and opposing the doctrine of George Whitefield, evangelist. Malcolm may have met Whitefield who, on at least two different occasions, had preached in Marblehead. Whitefield noted in his diary that on October 6, 1740, "the two ministers [in Marblehead] presented me with L70 for the Orphan House. . . ."[22]

Recorded November 1, 1748, in the church records, is the marriage of Malcolm to Mary (Elizabeth) Reed.[23] Sometime not too long thereafter, Malcolm visited "a friend [Alexander Hamilton?]" in Annapolis. While there, he was offered the rectorship at St. Anne's Parish. He accepted the post, and, back in Marblehead, reported to his vestry,

> As my Living with you was in every other respect agreeable to me, Excepting the hardship of spending every year a good deal of money out of my own pocket which I could not support much longer, the Duty and Care due to my Family has obliged me to change my situation, and accept of an Offer generously & kindly made me at Annapolis, where I went to see a friend. Therefore I hereby resign my charge at Marblehead. . . .[24]

On December 5, after Malcolm had left Marblehead, the vestry admitted his income was small but also believed that he was in the "decline of life" and that "in Maryland, the climate would be less severe."[25]

On September 22, 1749, Samuel Ogle, Governor of Maryland, appointed Malcolm rector of St. Anne's Church in Annapolis. On September 26, the act was officially entered in the parish register.[26] The church records reveal little concerning Malcolm's tenure there. Aside from his day to day duties, he was required to read "Divine Services" twice a day during sessions of the lower House of Assembly.[27]

His financial prospects were excellent. The Maryland clergy enjoyed a comfortable life, at least as good or better than their counterpart in England. This was due, to a large extent, to a thriving tobacco industry. William Eddis, who was customs inspector at Annapolis, commented:

> When all circumstances are taken into consideration, the clergy in this part of the world, will be found to possess advantages greatly superior to the generality of their brethren in the mother country. Each incumbent has a neat and convenient habitation, with a sufficient quantity of land, in proper cultivation to answer every useful and domestic purpose; and the emoluments arising from the least beneficial preferment, are amply sufficient to support an appearance, perfectly consistent with the respectability of the clerical profession. . . .
>
> By the laws of this province, all public dues are levied by a polltax. The clergy, from this provision, are entitled to forty pounds of Tobacco for every person within a limited age, at the rate of twelve shillings and six-pence the hundred weight. Persons who plant Tobacco have it in their option to pay either in money or in produce.[28]

Not long after his appointment, Malcolm decided to join the Tuesday Club which had been founded by eight Annapolitans, who were to "meet, converse, laugh, talk, smoke, drink, differ, agree, argue, philosophize, harangue, pun, sing, dance & fiddle together."[29] Hoping that he would be accepted as a member, Malcolm petitioned the Club on December 5, 1749. In his address, he expounded on the concept of society:

> As without Society, many would be the most wretched creature upon earth, so, to this he owes, tho' not his rational powers and faculties, yet the use and improvement of them, arts, science, all the advantages and pleasures of life flow from this fountain which alone renders it more secure and comfortable than the condition of the irrational tribes, for, without this, even reason it self [sic], would avail us very

> little, our noble powers would languish and perhaps be employed in mutual destruction; but society founded upon principles of right reason, directed by just laws, impartially executed under the administration of wise and virtuous rulers, what a glorious idea is it! What heart can conceive a greater blessing upon earth? It is the very prelude, or rather type of heaven, where nothing is to be found but order, peace, love, and all happy enjoyments, worthy of the rational nature. . . .

Malcolm was not only accepted into the Club but was also elected "Chancellor, and keeper of the [Club's] seal."[30]

The importance of the Tuesday Club in generating musical spirit in Annapolis and elsewhere cannot be overemphasized. At most meetings there was either singing or instrumental performances. The musicians of the Club included: William Thornton, principle vocalist; Charles Cole, vocalist;[31] Jonas Green, vocalist, lyrist, and French horn player; Alexander Hamilton, violoncellist; Alexander Malcolm, violinist and flutist; William Lux, vocalist and organist; and several honorary musical members.

The Club joined frequently with members of the Eastern Shore Triumvirate, a musical society based in Talbot County, and presented concerts in and around Annapolis. The three founding members of the Triumvirate included: Thomas Bacon, composer, violinist, and violoncellist; Robert Morris, violinist; and John Gordon. James Dickinson took over Robert Morris's position upon the latter's death. This club also had a number of honorary members who were musicians.

Each year, in celebration of the founding of the Tuesday Club, both clubs would join together for a concert. On May 14, 1751, for example, the concert for the sixth anniversary was presented in the town Council Chamber.[32]

During this time the *Maryland Gazette* printed several notices of concerts. Although these advertisements did not name individual performers, there is evidence that members of both clubs were involved in many of these events. For example, one concert which was presented in Annapolis on October 2, 1751, was advertised as follows: "This Evening will be performed, by a Set of Gentlemen, a Concert of Music, in the Council Chamber, for the Benefit of the Talbot County Charity School."[33] Thomas Bacon, whose idea it was to create the Charity School, announced his "scheme" to the Tuesday Club on September 18, 1750,[34] and formally presented his proposal to them on October 9.[35] Sometime thereafter, he must have asked the assistance of the Tuesday Club in planning, for the benefit of the school, at least one, but possibly more, joint concerts with the Triumvirate. The above noted benefit concert was one such occasion. The minutes of the Tuesday Club meeting for October 8, 1751, reveal that the members were supposed to have met "last Tuesday, instead of this day, but by reason of the necessary attendance of several of the members of this Club, at a rehearsal of music, for A Charitable Concert, performed on Wednesday night, last," which was October 1, the day noted in the advertisement.[36]

On September 14 of the following year musicians of both clubs participated in a historically significant event which took place a few miles outside of Annapolis, in Upper Marlborough, Maryland. This occasion marked the first

documented performance of an opera, accompanied by an orchestra, in America. John Gay's *The Beggar's Opera* was presented there by the Murray-Kean Company, billing themselves as the "Company of Comedians from Annapolis."[37] The production was advertised in the *Maryland Gazette:*

> By permission by his honour, the President, at the New Theatre, at Upper Marlborough, by the Company of Comedians from Annapolis on Thurs next, 14th of Sept. (at the request of the Ancient and Honourable Society of Free and Accepted Masons) will be perform'd *The Beggar's Opera* with instrumental music to each air given by a set of private Gentlemen and *a solo on the French horn.* Also a Mason's song by Mr. Woodham, with a grand chorus also a farce *The Lying Valet.* Tickets to be had at Mr. Benjamin Barry's pit 7s 6d Gallery 5s.[38]

The facts surrounding this historic presentation have long been a puzzle to music historians.[39] Who were the musicians in the orchestra and what instruments, besides the French horn, were used? And, how could the little town of Upper Marlborough have mustered the musical forces necessary to accompany this work? It was not likely that the Murray-Kean Company would have jeopardized their reputation by allowing less than adequate musicians to take part in their production.

The evidence points to the musicians of the Tuesday Club and Triumvirate. For one thing, the "set of private Gentlemen" seems to have consisted of a number of local musicians who had previous experience playing together in concert. For another, the sponsor of the production, the Ancient and Honourable Society of Free and Accepted Masons, was actually the Annapolis Lodge of Freemasons, which consisted of about thirty members, including John Gordon, Alexander Hamilton, Jonas Green, and Alexander Malcolm.[40] It is reasonable to suppose, therefore, that these musicians, in addition to others, not only sponsored the event but also took part in the performance. Assuming that all principle musicians, both regular and honorary, of both clubs participated, a reconstruction of the orchestra would consist of:

2 Flutes ..... Daniel Wolstenholme [Alexander Malcolm]
3 Violins ..... [Thomas Bacon] Alexander Malcolm, and Daniel Dulany, Jr.
1 Violoncello ..... Alexander Hamilton
1 Viola da gamba ..... Thomas Bacon
1 French horn ..... Jonas Green
1 Drum (often used at Club meetings to accompany marches, etc.)
1 Harpsichord (or organ) ..... William Lux

All members of the orchestra and actors in the Company would have joined together for the "Grand Chorus."[41]

Although Malcolm was already leading a very active life, discharging his duties at St. Anne's Church, attending Club and Lodge meetings, practicing his violin, and rehearsing for concerts, he found time to take on yet another task. On August 22, 1753, the Maryland parochial clergy, concerned with the encroachment of popery in Maryland, met at the house of Mr. Middleton in Annapolis. Malcolm led the discussions which centered on the belief that Maryland as a Protestant colony, should remain such and be protected by the

governor against "popery, and those great enemies to the Christian religion and to all virtue, the Jesuits. . . ."[42] Malcolm, however, was growing old, and found these obligations increasingly difficult to sustain.

Recorded on October 6, 1753, was reference to an application made by Malcolm to Governor Horatio Sharpe "for removal to St. Mary's Parish in Dorset County. . . . Mr. Malcolm [who] has lived in this Town as Rector several years in good esteem, is now growing old. . . ."[43] On May 2, 1754, Sharpe replied, "I have taken the Liberty to favour Mr. Malcolm's later Request, by inducting him to St. Paul's in Queen Ann [sic] County which being more compact, the Duty of it can be discharged with less fatigue to a person in years which is Mr. Malcolm's Case."[44] Malcolm's official appointment occurred on April 16, 1754. His letter of appointment was noted in the parish register on May 13, and the time of induction was again registered on September 2, 1755.[45]

Malcolm attended his last meeting of the Tuesday Club on June 11, 1754. He delivered his farewell address and advised Charles Cole, the Club's president, to be "content with such power as . . . to promote the peace, honor and happiness of this here club," and to "always acknowledge the fountain of [his] power. . . . Liberty and property, you know, have always been my darling objectives."[46]

> The Chancellor having finished his Speech, the grand chorus was immediately struck up, with voices and instruments, in which concerto, the Chancellor without removing his spectacles from his nose, played the violino primo, Daniel Dulany Esqr., violino secondo, or song part, and the secretary [Alexander Hamilton] the violoncello while Protomusicus [William Thornton], the Poet Laureat [Jonas Green], and William Lux, esqr., performed con voce.[47]

Apparently this was Malcolm's last musical performance with the Tuesday Club. On July 23, 1754, as a final gesture of friendship, he sent the Club a poem in which he characterized the individual members, and explained, "That he never once in his life thought of being a poet or an orator, till the Tuesday Club made him both."[48]

Malcolm spent the next several years attending to his normal church duties including visiting the sick, performing marriages, attending cases concerning unlawful cohabitation, violations of the sabbath, and profanity, and witnessing appointments of tobacco warehouse inspectors.[49] In addition, he was appointed, on February 1, 1755, master of the Queen Anne's County Free School, where, for the following four years, he engaged in disputes, not unlike those he experienced earlier in New York, concerning what was to be taught in the school, as well as his inability to attract a sufficient number of students. In the end, he and his son, Quinton, who taught dancing there, were asked to leave.[50]

By July, 1758, Malcolm was recommended by Governor Horatio Sharpe for appointment to the Council of Commissioners who were to settle the Maryland-Pennsylvania boundary dispute between Lord Baltimore and the Penns.[51] The appointment was given to Malcolm by September, 1760; however, by December of that year, he was so "sickly & infirm that he could not at such a Season venture from home."[52] On June 15, 1763, Malcolm died.[53]

Several days later, the following notice appeared in the *Maryland Gazette:*

> A few days ago Died, in an advanced Age, in Queen-Anne's County, The Reverend ALEXANDER MALCOLM, A.M. Rector of St. Paul's Parish in that County: A Gentleman who has obliged the World with several learned Performances on the Mathematics, Music, and Grammar.[54]

Two weeks later the news of his death had reached New England. The following notice was recorded in the *Boston Gazette:*

> We hear from Maryland, that the Rev. Alexander Malcolm, lately died there, in an advanced age. He was a Scotch Gentlemen [sic], who has obliged the World with several learned Performances on Mathematics, etc. His Arithmetic has been recommended as the best in the English and perhaps any other Language.[55]

Although he lived in a number of places and enjoyed various positions, it was his residence in Maryland that satisfied Malcolm most. In Annapolis, he enjoyed the prestige of being rector of St. Anne's Church, as well as the participation in the many social activities there. But most important, as a scholar, educator, and musician, Malcolm made an important contribution to the cultural scene in eighteenth-century Maryland.

References

1. For a discussion of the arts and intellectualism in the "Chesapeake region," see Richard Beale Davis's "The Intellectual Golden Age in the Colonial Chesapeake Bay Country" in *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 78 (April, 1970): 131–43.
2. Music for balls, for example, was often supplied by itinerant musicians. John Lammond, the first musician to advertise his skill in the local newspaper, and Baudille Gounsault performed for "Balls, Merry-Makings, and Entertainments." *Maryland Gazette,* November 21, 1750 and October 12, 1758, respectively.
3. Some of these merchants included Thomas Lyttleton, William Roberts, Thomas Hyde, Robert Swan, and Thomas Brooke Hodgkin. *Maryland Gazette,* April 22, 1762, August 4, 1763, June 4, 1767, February 1, 1759, and March 5, 1772, respectively. William Lux, a friend of Malcolm, stocked "Violins of various prices, violin strings, Spinnets, common flutes, jews harps and mahogony stands" in his store; *ibid.,* July 28, 1763, June 14, 1764, and August 8, 1765.
4. For example, Henry G. Farmer, *A History of Music in Scotland* (London: Hinrichsen Edition Limited, 1933), p. 322.
5. Malcolm Lloyd, Jr., "Alexander Malcolm, Writer on Mathematics and Music" in *Scottish Notes & Queries,* Third Series 6 (December, 1928): 234–36.
6. *New System of Arithmetic,* pp. [3–4]. Thomas Jefferson owned a copy of this work. It was included among the books in Jefferson's library which were placed in the Library of Congress as part of its original book collection. *Catalogue of the United States* (Washington, D.C., J. Elliot, 1815), p. 110, no. 5.
7. A second edition was published in 1743. Daniel Dulany, Attorney General of Maryland, owned a copy of this work. Joseph Towne Wheeler, "Reading and other Recreations of Marylanders, 1700–1776," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 38 (March, 1943): 52.
8. Second edition, London, 1731; mention of a third edition of 1751, printed by Strahan, and of which no copies have been located, was printed in *The Gentlemen's Magazine* (London, August, 1751); fourth edition, London, 1776, under the title *Malcolm's Treatise of Music Corrected and Abridged by an Eminent Musician* [unnamed]; fifth edition, London, 1779; reprint of 1721 edition, New York, 1969. In addition, the Library of Congress has a copy of *The New Musical and Universal Magazine* (London, 1775) in which certain parts of the work are bound after "The Literary Part of the Musical Magazine, for December, 1775." For an analysis, see Reppard Stone, *An Evaluative Study of Alexander Malcolm's Treatise of Music: Speculative, Practical and Historical* (Ph.D., Catholic University, 1974).
9. *Edinburgh Evening Courant,* November 6, 1721, Edinburgh University Library.

10. Johann Mattheson, *Critica Musica* (Hamburg, 1725), Tome 2, pp. 146-47. See also Mattheson's *Der vollkommene Capellmeister* (Hamburg, 1739), p. 289.
11. John Hawkins, *A General History of the Science & Practice of Music*, 1776. 3 vols. (London: Novello, 1853), II: 841. A synopsis, which was apparently based on Hawkins' treatment of the work, is printed in John S. Sainbury's *Dictionary of Musicians from the Earliest Times*. 2 vols. (London, 1825), II: 100-01, and also in John W. Moore's *Complete Encyclopedia of Music* (Boston: John P. Jewitt, 1854), pp. 547-48.
12. They include: John C. Pepusch, *A Treatise on Harmony* (London, 1731); Johann Walther, *Musikalisches Lexikon* (Leipzig, 1732), p. 380; James Grassineau, *A Musical Dictionary being a Collection of Terms and Characters* (London, 1740), pp. 28 ff.: Jacob Adlung, *Anleitung zu der musikalischen Gelahrtheit* (Erfurt, 1758), p. 136; John Potter, *Observations on the Present State of Music and Musicians* (London, 1762), pp. 10-11; Thomas Robertson, *An Inquiry Into the Fine Arts* (London, 1784), p. 264; Johann N. Forkel, *Allgemeine Literatur der Musik*... (Leipzig, 1792), pp. 416-17; and Ernst L. Gerber, *Neues Historisch-Biographisches Lexikon der Tonkünstler* (Leipzig, 1813-14), Teil 3, col. 296.
13. Robert Carter of Nomini Hall, Virginia, owned a copy of "Malcolm on Music." Philip V. Fithian, *Journal and Letters of Philip Vickers Fithian, 1773-1774*, ed. by Hunter Farish (Williamsburg, Virginia: Colonial Williamsburg, Inc., 1943), p. 288.
14. William Smith, Jr., *The History of the Province of New York* manuscript, 1826. 2 vols. (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1972), II: 4.
15. *New York Gazette*, January 7, 1734.
16. Martin Benson, *A Sermon Preached Before the Incorporated Society*... (London, 1740), p. 49.
17. *A Collection of Papers Printed by Order of the Society*... (London, 1715), p. 21.
18. Malcolm owned "1 violin and case, 1 violin with case, out of order, 1 very old violin, [and] 1 flute." *Inventories*, Liber 83, folio 249 (Maryland Hall of Records), microfilm: *Colonial Series*, 966, Library of Congress and Queen Anne's County, *Administration Papers*, no. 1911, Maryland Hall of Records.
19. John Tufts, *An Introduction to the Singing of Psalm-Tunes* (1721) and Thomas Walter, *The Grounds and Rules of Musick Explained* (1721).
20. Alexander Hamilton, *Itinerarium being a Narrative of a Journey... 1744*, ed. by Albert B. Hart (St. Louis, William Bixby, 1907), p. 236.
21. Matthew Hutton, *A Sermon Preached Before the Incorporated Society*... (London, 1746), p. 41.
22. *George Whitefield's Journals*, 1737-1741 (Gainesville, Florida: Scholars' Facsimiles and Reprints, 1969), pp. 466 and 470.
23. *Vital Records of Marblehead, Massachusetts to the End of the Year 1849* (Salem, Massachusetts: The Essex Institute, 1904), II, p. 276.
24. William S. Perry, *Historical Collections Relating to the American Church*, 1873 (New York: AMS Press, 1969), p. 435.
25. *Ibid.*, p. 436.
26. Annie Burns, *St. Anne's Parish Register* 2 volumes. (typewritten copy of the original, Library of Congress), II, pp. 310-11.
27. "Proceedings and Acts of the General Assembly of Maryland," in *Archives of Maryland*, 82 vols. (Baltimore, 1929), 46: 650.
28. William Eddis, *Letters from America* (London, 1792), pp. 45-51.
29. *Tuesday Club Records*, volume compiled by Alexander Hamilton, MS 854, Maryland Historical Society [hereafter cited MHS], p. 371.
30. *Ibid.*, pp. 167-68.
31. Elaine Breslaw's statement, in "The Chronicle as Satire: Dr. Hamilton's 'History of the Tuesday Club,' " *Maryland Historical Magazine* 70 (Summer, 1975): 132, that Cole did not "participate in the singing," is erroneous. Actually, on occasion, Cole did sing. See the minutes of 27 May 1755 of the tenth anniversary in the *Record of the Tuesday Club* in the Peter Force Collection, Library of Congress.
32. *Tuesday Club Records*, p. 309, MHS.
33. *Maryland Gazette*, October 2, 1751.
34. *Tuesday Club Record Book*, John Work Garrett Library, Baltimore, Maryland, p. 299.
35. *Tuesday Club Records*, p. 261, MHS. On September 19, 1750, a notice concerning the proposed Charity School appeared in the *Gazette*.
36. *Ibid.*, MS 854, p. 333.
37. This was actually the second performance of this opera in Upper Marlborough; the first took

place on August 20, 1752. Earlier significant productions included the first American performance, New York, 1750, and the first performance of the work, London, 1728.

38. *Maryland Gazette,* August 27, 1752. "Mr. [Charles] Woodham" was a member of the Company.
39. Oscar Sonneck, *Early Opera in America* (New York: G. Schirmer, 1915), p. 18; John Tasker Howard, *Our American Music* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, Co., 1946), p. 31. See also Kathryn Painter Ward, "The First Professional Theater in Maryland in Its Colonial Setting," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 70 (Spring, 1975): 40.
40. Edward T. Schultz, *History of Freemasonry in Maryland* 3 vols. (Baltimore: J. H. Medairy, 1887), III: 258-59, 261-62.
41. Bacon and Malcolm, in brackets, may have doubled on other instruments. The only musician in the Annapolis area who was known to have played the French horn was Jonas Green. He was likely the performer of the horn "solo," noted in the advertisement. See the *Tuesday Club Records,* p. 398, MHS.
42. Ethan Allen, *Synodalia. Records of Clergy Meetings in Maryland, 1695-1773* (Baltimore, 1864), pp. 167 and 171.
43. "Correspondence of Gov. Horatio Sharpe," *Archives of Maryland,* 82 vols. (Baltimore, 1888), 6: 9.
44. *Ibid.,* p. 54. See also p. 60.
45. Annie Burns, *St. Paul's Parish Register,* 2 vols. (typewritten copy of the original, Library of Congress), I: pp. 383, 395.
46. MS 854, pp. 481-82. For further discussion regarding "the topic of sovereignty between Malcolm and Cole," see Elaine G. Breslaw, "Wit, Whimsy, and Politics: The Uses of Satire by the Tuesday Club of Annapolis, 1744 to 1756," *William and Mary Quarterly,* third series, 32 (April, 1975): 303-04.
47. *Ibid.,* p. 483.
48. *Ibid.,* pp. 487-88.
49. Burns, *St. Paul's Parish Register,* I, pp. 395, 403-04.
50. *Queen Anne's County Free School Minute Book,* MS 683, pp. 90, 93, 95-98, MHS.
51. "Correspondence of Gov. Horatio Sharpe," *Archives of Maryland* (Baltimore, 1890) 9: 224, 233. In a "Letter of Cecilius Calvert to Horatio Sharpe, January 5, 1754," Calvert refers to Malcolm as being "esteemed . . . an excellent mathematician." *Sharpe Papers,* MS 1414, MHS.
52. *Ibid.,* pp. 450, 468. See also p. 480.
53. Burns, *St. Paul's Parish Register,* II, p. 13. Upon his death, Malcolm's benefices owed him totaled over 20,000 pounds of tobacco from Queen Anne County and over 6,000 pounds of tobacco from that part of his parish in Talbot County. *Ibid.,* pp. 14-15.
54. *Maryland Gazette,* June 30, 1763.
55. *The Boston and Country Gazette,* July 18, 1763. Notice of his death was also printed in *The Boston News Letter,* July 21, 1763.

The Origin and Nature of African Slavery in Seventeenth Century Maryland

WHITTINGTON B. JOHNSON

THE 1664 ACT IN MARYLAND WHICH ESTABLISHED DE JURE PRACTICES OF PERpetual slavery is one of the most frequently quoted slave laws, yet the context in which it is interpreted belies the true significance of the act and the reason why lawmakers in the colony passed it. Moreover, the nature of slavery in seventeenth-century Maryland differed discernibly from that of the antebellum period, yet too often in the past scholars have lumped practices of the colonial period with those of later periods without giving due recognition to their differences.

The legal development of slavery in Maryland has been ably chronicled by a number of scholars, the most recent being Winthrop Jordan who couched the development in an historical context and Jonathan Alpert who viewed it from a different but refreshing perspective, the legal, or lawyer's perspective.[1] This study will seek to answer some questions which were not raised in those studies, namely: Why was the 1664 Act passed? What took precedence, African indentures or the "durante vita" mandate of the 1664 Act? How restrictive were the slave laws in seventeenth-century Maryland? And what was the nature of miscegenation laws?

De facto slavery preceded laws legalizing the practice in the mainland colonies,[2] and Maryland was no exception. Andrew White, a Jesuit missionary who was among the original Maryland settlers, brought a mulatto named Matthias with him and later imported another mulatto, Francisco. Two more original settlers, the Wintour brothers Edward and Frederick, brought an African named John Price with them.[3] These servants may have been slaves, for in 1638 reference was made to slaves in an act of the legislature:

> Be it enacted by the lord proprietor of this province of and with advice and approbation of the freemen of the same that all persons being Christians (slaves excepted) of the age of eighteen years or above brought into this province at the charge and adventure of some other person shall serve such person . . . for the full term of four years . . .[4]

Two conclusions can be drawn from the language of this act, one being that slaves in the text refer to Africans, and perhaps, non-European persons, and the other being that no limit was attached to the length of time slaves could serve. Further evidence to support the contention that slaves were in Maryland at the time is gleaned from a contract in 1642 between John Skinner

Mr. Johnson is associate professor of history at the University of Miami (Fla.).

and Leonard Calvert, in which the former agreed to deliver to Calvert seventeen slaves, fourteen men and three women.[5] Evidently this transaction was never consummated, for the first notice of an African slave being sold in Maryland was not recorded until 1644.[6]

Reliance upon African slaves, as the chief source of labor, was not a part of the original plans for developing the colony's work force, as is evidenced by Lord Baltimore's instructions of 1635:

> In taking of servants he may do well to furnish himself with as many as he can, in useful and necessary arts: a carpenter, of all other the most necessary; a millwright, a ship-wright, boat-wright, wheel-wright, sawyer, smith, cutler, leatherdresser, miner, fisherman, and gardener. These will be of most use; but any lusty young able man that is willing to labour and take pains although he have no other particular trade will be beneficial enough to his master.[7]

These "lusty young men" were expected to populate manors and fit into an economic system closely approximating that of fifteenth century Europe, but the plan went awry. With so much land available, a disconcerting number of European servants refused to remain on these manors, escaping into the hinterlands and carving out homesteads of their own. Moreover, Marylanders shifted their commercial economic endeavors from growing wheat, corn and "other provisions" to growing tobacco. This shift in emphasis resulted in increasingly larger acreages of land being devoted to tobacco growing which in turn created an increase in demand for more laborers and longer terms of servitude. African laborers, thus became very desirable because Africans could be required to serve longer terms, female slaves could be employed in the fields, runaways were less successful among African slaves and payment of freedom dues could be avoided.[8]

Although the low fertility rate of female African slaves[9] and the slowness of the British merchant to enter the slave trade[10] kept the slave population relatively small for much of the century, African servants were visible in the colony and it was common practice for them to serve for life, as a perusal of inventories of probated estates reveals. The money value of Africans consistently exceeded that of European servants who had limited periods to serve,[11] and that at a time when Europeans brought high prices because of a shortage of their kind.

The highest value placed on any European servant was that of 2,600 pounds of tobacco which was placed on John Hayes by John Scotches in 1659, another European servant on the plantation being assessed at 1,600 pounds of tobacco.[12] A number of inventories valued European servants at 2,000 pounds of tobacco.[13] The inventory of Richard Smith's estate in February, 1662 listed "three men servants at 2,000 a piece," while that same year and month the inventory of William Palmer's estate listed "a Negro woman" at 3,000 pounds, and a 1662 inventory of an estate in Charles County placed the value of "a Negro man and his wife" at 5,500 pounds of tobacco.[14]

A second and better indicator that there were African servants who served for life prior to 1664 is obtained from inventories which listed the duration of time which servants had to serve. In 1658 an inventory of the estate of Cor-

nelius Abraham listed two servants, one with "one crop to make" and the other with "two crops."[15] An inventory of the estate of Robert Taylor in April, 1661 listed three servants, two of whom had four years to serve, while the other had only three years.[16] The inventory of William Stowe in June, 1661 listed twelve servants with terms ranging from three months to 10 years; however, his two African servants, Philip and Margarett, did not have any time designation beside their names.[17] The inventory of the estate of John _____ in January, 1663 listed a manor servant "with four years [at] 2,000, two boys for about 3 years [at] 2,000 . . . 2 man negroes [at] 3,400, and a negro woman for which [is] now born a small negro girl, [at] 2,500."[18] The inventory below was taken after the 1664 Act, but it is consistent with earlier practices of listing servants. African servants have a higher value than European and the latter have duration of service designated, but the African servants do not.

Estate of Sarah Jordan July 5, 1665		
1 man servant having 1 year to serve	1000	(pounds of
1 youth 3 years to serve	1500	tobacco)
1 boy 9 years to serve	1800	
1 maid 2 years to serve	900	
1 maid 1 year to serve	500	
1 Negro woman with a Negro child	4000	

Source: Maryland Provincial Testamentary Proceedings, Volume I (1657–1666), p. 147 (in the fourth run of pages), Maryland Hall of Records.

The fact that "Negro servants" in the above inventories served for life obviated the need to designate the duration of their service.

The proof of life service for African servants prior to 1664 is evidenced in an act of 1663 entitled "An Act Concerning English Servants That Runaway in the Company of Negroes and Other Slaves." Not only does the term slave appear in the title of an act for the first time in Maryland but the text of the act clearly indicates that Africans served for life. The statement "divers English servants who runaway in company with Negroes and other slaves, . . . who are incapable of making satisfactory by addition of time"[19] can have no other meaning than that they served for life.

Since African slaves served for life, and evidently had been doing so for several decades without prompting legislation legalizing the practice, I doubt that it was that practice which prompted the 1664 Act; certainly nothing in the debates pertaining to the language of the act suggests that a compelling need to legalize slavery was uppermost in the minds of the lawmakers. Rather, judging from the amount of debate time consumed and the large space devoted to them in the act, the vexing problems of miscegenation and the children born of such unions were the primary reasons for the 1664 Act.[20] Understandably, since the lawmakers addressed the practice of service for life first, historians have stressed this and have ignored the key issues.

According to the act, Africans living in the colony and those imported subsequent to the act were to serve "Durante Vita." The thorny question, however, was the one posed by "divers freeborne English women" who:

> To the disgrace of our nation do intermarry with Negro slaves by which also divers suits may arise touching the issue of such woman and a great damage doth befall the masters of such Negroes . . .

After heated debate the lawmakers agreed to enact legislation which they thought would be severe enough to deter such marriages in the future:

> . . . whereof for deterring such freeborne women from such shameful matches be it further enacted that whatsoever free born woman shall intermarry with any slave from and after the last day of this present assembly shall serve the masters of such slave during the life of her husband and that all the issue of such freeborne woman shall be slaves as their fathers were . . .[21]

There remained the question of children born prior to the act's passage, which the lawmakers addressed by declaring that they "shall serve the masters of their parents till they be thirty years of age and no longer."[22]

The significance of the 1664 Act, therefore, is not the "durante vita" term, which certainly did not break any new ground in the practice of slavery in Maryland, but the inheritability aspect of slavery which the act introduced, for evidently prior to 1664 children of slaves did not inherit "durante vita" status. If this were so, the law would not have made the distinction in length of service given to pre-1664 Act children vis-a-vis post-1664 Act children.

I doubt if Maryland was the only colony that permitted interracial marriages between free females and slaves, but it was the first, and only colony, which tried to discourage the practice by decreeing slavery inheritable making children follow the status of their father. Moreover, the 1664 Act was less concerned about legalizing a practice—African slavery—that was almost as old as the colony itself than it was with discouraging a practice which was fairly new: the marriage of free English females to African slaves. It should be stressed that in 1664 it was the economic ramifications of miscegenation which worried leaders in the colony.[23]

Even while African slaves were being required to serve for life, a number of Africans were able to secure their freedom after serving only a short term. In 1653, John Babtiste, an African servant, petitioned the Provincial Court for his freedom, claiming that Simon Overzee, who brought him to the colony and subsequently sold him, could not sell him for life since his time of service was restricted by an oral agreement to a set number of years. Babtiste presented credible witnesses who corroborated his testimony and the Court ruled in his favor, ordering him to serve an additional two years after which he was to be freed.[24]

An interesting case reached the Provincial Court in 1676 when Thomas Hagleton petitioned that body for his freedom. Hagleton was an African who formerly lived in London, England, where he was baptized "into Christian faith" and later moved to Durham, England where he became a servant of William Jordan, a tobacco planter, who taught him the tobacco trade and had him converted to Catholicism.[25] After Jordan's death, Hagleton became a servant of one Margery Dutchesses "who consigned the petitioner to Thomas Kemp to serve the term of four years." Sometime in the early 1670s Kemp brought Hagleton to Maryland and indentured him to Major Thomas Truman

under whom Hagleton was to serve the remainder of his term. But evidently Truman refused to abide by the agreement, keeping his African servant an additional twelve months before he appealed to the Provincial Court for relief. Hagleton, like Babtiste before him provided credible witnesses to corroborate his story[26] and the Court ruled in his favor.[27] Hagleton, who was assigned fifty acres which he transferred to a Samuel Goosey of Calvert County,[28] subsequently petitioned the Court to gain compensation for the twelve months due him from Truman for unilaterally extending his service, but his failure to follow through on his suit resulted in the 1683 session of the Court ordering that the case "be struck from . . . the dockett."[29]

In 1678, William Upton, another African, petitioned the Court for his release from servitude alleging that his contract with John Price called for a limited term of service, not durante vita. The Court ruled for Upton, ordering that he be given clothing and some corn.[30] And fifteen years later, in 1693, the Court heard the case of Ralph Trunckett who claimed that Gilbert Turberfield was keeping him illegally. Trunckett was born in Madagascar and was brought to England where he was converted to Christianity and "brought up in the Anglican Church." Trunckett claimed that he came to Maryland as a "self indentured servant of Captain Edward Prince" and not as a slave. After the death of Prince, Trunckett and the property of the Captain were inherited by Thomas Prince; his widow married Gilbert Turberfield, who assumed ownership of all her property. Trunckett followed the approach used earlier by Babtiste and Hagleton, with the same results.[31]

However, three other African servants who presented freedom petitions to the Court after the 1664 Act was passed were not successful in gaining their freedom. In its 1679–80 session the Court heard a petition from Charles Cabe but rejected it because he did not support his testimony with sufficient corroborative evidence.[32] In 1693, the Court heard the appeal of Joyce Gidding, a New England-born black, who claimed that her master, Thomas Brooks, did not acquire her service for life. Once again the Court ruled against the petitioner because of insufficient corroborative testimony.[33] A year later, the Court heard testimony of Tom Blanco, but found the evidence presented so untruthful that the sheriff was ordered to jail him and to give him a sound whipping.[34]

The findings in these petition cases show that "durante vita" legislation regarding African servants did not take precedence over the indentures and oral contracts which these servants made. To be sure, Africans did not receive, automatically, the protective umbrella of English common law, but whenever they could show that their servitude was based upon a contractual agreement, whites were obligated to abide by the indenture. The precedent established by these freedom petition cases resulted in a gap developing between the letter of the 1664 Act and its practice.

While the Provincial Court was busy throughout the period ruling on freedom petitions, the legislature was relatively inactive in the field of slave legislation throughout the 1670s and 1680s.[35] But all this changed during the 1690s, when the number of legislative enactments relating to slavery increas-

ed. The text of these acts reflects that the assembly had begun to develop a feel for legislating on slavery. Perhaps the most restrictive of the laws was the 1695 act requiring slaves to carry passes signed by either their master, or an overseer, whenever they left the plantation, even if traveling from one to another of their master's plantations. A slave caught off the plantation without a pass was to be punished, but not to the extent of maiming or killing.[36] While this act mirrors the subordinate position of the slave, it is quite apparent that masters did not have life-and-death powers over their African slaves.

Moreover, these masters could not treat their slaves cruelly. Failure to provide slaves with clothing, food and lodging could result in manumission,[37] and brutalizing them could result in criminal prosecution by the colonial government. Accordingly, in December, 1658, Simon Overzee was indicted for fatally beating his "African servant," Anthony. Testimony revealed that Anthony had been stubborn, obstreperous and a frequent runaway. This last charge weighed heavily in Overzee's favor, for running away was one of those infractions that colonists loathed with a passion. As a consequence, Overzee was acquitted after several lengthy court sessions.[38] The fact remains, however, that he was forced to stand trial for killing a slave. Thirty-four years later, a female slave was manumitted because her master cut off her ear,[39] which shows that pressure, albeit sporadic, was exerted on slaveowners to be humane to their slaves.

The manumission of the female slave stemmed from a 1692 act prohibiting masters, mistresses, dames, or overseers from dismembering or cauterizing slaves, the follow through of royal instructions of 1691 which directed governors that "you shall endeavor to get a law passed. . . for the restraining of any inhumane severity which ill masters or overseers may use towards their Christian servants and their slaves."[40] Justices of the county courts were authorized to manumit "dismembered and cauterized" slaves. This act also stated that if masters denied "sufficient meat, drink, and clothing or shall unreasonably burden their servants or slaves beyond their strength with labor or deny them necessary sleep"[41] upon proof being presented to the justice of the county court, first and second offenders were fined; third offenders, though, were to lose the service of that slave or servant, he being declared free.[42] Moreover, the 1692 act released servants and slaves from chores on Sundays and holidays.[43]

Concomitant with the emergence of laws legalizing and regulating slavery, antimiscegenation laws and tariffs on slave immigrants were also enacted. During the seventeenth century slaves were permitted to marry other Africans, but racially exogamous marriages were discouraged. While the antimiscegenation laws of 1664 and 1681, were limited to African slaves and Europeans, later laws extended the ban to include free Africans and Europeans.[44]

These antimiscegnation laws were Maryland's first legal manifestation of English disdain for Africans:

> And for as much as diverse free born English or white women sometimes by the instigation, procurement or connivance of their masters, mistresses or dames and

> always to the satisfaction of their lascivious and lustful desires, and to the disgrace not only of the English but also other Christian nations do intermarry with negroes and slaves. . .[45]

In succinct terms, the language of the law stated that European women who married Africans were a disgrace to whites everywhere. Although many Maryland slaveowners probably shared this negativism toward Africans,[46] it did not inhibit them from mating their male slaves with European female servants (slaves could not marry without their masters' permission). This course of action was probably forced upon slaveowners because there were so few African females in the colony with whom they could mate their slaves.[47] Since children of a union involving a slave followed the status of their father, the potential monetary gain from a male slave-European female union partially compensated for the revulsion which such unions probably occasioned among slaveowners.

Judging from the number of antimiscegenation laws passed during the last quarter of the seventeenth century, there must have been an increase in the number of interracial marriages, causing consternation among the provincial leadership. These laws were harsh, punishing affected masters, dames, ministers and magistrates, but not slaves and their white mates. The 1681 act quoted above awarded freedom to female European servants who married African slaves, in addition to fining their masters, but this did not stop the practice.[48] There were no laws prohibiting the marriage of free Africans to female slaves, but free Africans who married whites were forced into perpetual servitude, marking the first time that free Africans were enslaved for committing certain acts.[49] In view of the harshness of the punishment meted out to those involved in interracial marriages, racism had replaced economic consideration as the primary reason for enacting antimiscegenation laws.

The last quarter of the seventeenth century also witnessed a significant increase in Maryland's slave population, the majority of which resulted from the slave trade, but there were no legislative attempts to curb this traffic. The chart below shows that the estimated African population in Maryland increased from twenty, or 3.4 percent of the total population in 1640, to 3,227 or 10.9 percent in 1700, which means that during this period the rate of increase of the African population was three times that of the white. Such a pattern reflects the transition of Maryland's economy away from the fairly small, subsistence-style family farms toward the later specialized tobacco plantations worked by slave labor.

Subsequently, the colony attempted to exploit this increase in slave importation by enacting a ten shilling revenue tariff in 1695, payable by the seller within three months after the slave entered the colony.[50] In 1696 and again in 1699, the duty was increased to twenty shillings, payable at the port upon entry of the slave.[51] This marked the end of slave legislation for the seventeenth century.

By the end of the seventeenth century the legal system embracing slavery in Maryland (evolving from earlier de facto practices) consisted of a few laws which legalized slavery by making it inheritable, declared that conversion to

ESTIMATED POPULATION OF MARYLAND 1640–1700

	1640	*1650*	*1660*	*1670*	*1680*	*1690*	*1700*
White and African	583	4504	8426	13226	17904	24024	29604
African	20	300	758	1190	1611	2162	3227

Source: *United States Bureau of the Census Historical Statistics of the United States: Colonial Times to 1957* (Washington D.C., 1960), p. 756.

Christianity did not lead to automatic manumission,[52] and restricted the movement of slaves. Tangential laws banned racially exogamous marriages and placed a revenue raising impost on slave immigrants. This was the extent of the slave legal system.

Under the system, slaves were chattels real, the same status held by European servants. According to English law, chattels real were attached to the land, and could not be separated from it; this was not the case with chattels personal.[53] Further, English law accorded the master a right only to his servant's services.[54] The American experience modified English law somewhat by permitting the slave to be detached from the land, but safeguards surrounding the slave's person were retained.

From the standpoint of laws in the books, the slave system practiced in Maryland during the seventeenth century lacked much of the comprehensiveness associated with the "peculiar institution" of the antebellum period. For instance, there were no laws denying slaves the right to testify in court against whites. In freedom petitions, defendants were always white, yet Africans were permitted to state their cases and present witnesses in their behalf. There were no laws defining the legal status of African slaves; depending on the situation, they might be persons, property or both. If we are to be guided by the freedom petitions, once again, slaves were persons, by virtue of the fact that they could be legal partners in a contract and sue in court to redress grievances.

There were some distinct differences, however, between African slaves and European servants, notwithstanding the fact that the term slave and servant were used interchangeably in the vernacular. By 1700, in Maryland the slave was an African who served "durante vita," with the children inheriting the status of their father. European servants, on the other hand, served short terms and their status was not inheritable.

Perhaps this study has demonstrated a need to reexamine the early slave laws in the other colonies to determine if giving de jure status to perpetual servitude was the intent behind the enactment of these laws. Or were they passed to resolve perplexing problems which were created by the presence of African slaves among them? At least the 1664 Act can now be seen in a different and more meaningful perspective as it related to a contemporary seventeenth century problem. It would be interesting, also, to ascertain whether slaves in other colonies were able to gain freedom through the courts (freedom petitions). The irony here is that freedom petitions very well could have

established a precedent for Afro-Americans, for historically they have had to petition the court to secure rights as first class citizens. Could freedom petitions be viewed as the first chapter in this long struggle?

Indeed, African slavery in seventeenth century Maryland marks a fruitful beginning point from which to examine the practice of slavery and racial attitudes in other colonies, and during other periods.

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47. Adult male slaves outnumbered their female counterparts by about one and one-half to one, this disparity being most pronounced late in the seventeenth century. Russell, "The Maryland Slave Population, 1658 to 1730," p. 39.
48. *Archives of Maryland*, 7: 203–05; This suggests that masters were exploiting the situation. Handlin, "Origins of the Southern Labor System," p. 213.
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Foster Cunliffe and Sons: Liverpool Merchants in the Maryland Tobacco Trade, 1738–1765

JOHN W. TYLER

THE INFLUENCE OF THE FRENCH MARKET IN THE RESTIMULATION OF THE Chesapeake economy after 1725, together with the subsequent rise of Scotland and the outports, constitutes the organizing center of much of the recent scholarship concerning the eighteenth century tobacco trade.[1] Through the fortuitous survival of shipping records, a ledger book and the voluminous business correspondence of the Maryland agents of the Liverpool merchant firm Foster Cunliffe and Sons, we can observe in microcosm the important secular trends recorded by Jacob Price and other scholars in their writings on the tobacco trade.[2]

The economic fortunes of the Cunliffes record with barometric sensitivity the rise and fall of the tobacco trade on the Eastern Shore of Maryland. The correspondence carried on by the Cunliffes with their factors, or resident agents, reveals a wealth of information about the day-to-day operation of the tobacco trade and brings into sharp relief the important issues of the Maryland inspection act of 1747, the inter-relationship between adequate shipping and the prosperity of the tobacco trade, and the significance of credit to the expanding Chesapeake economy.

It is difficult to establish whether or not Foster Cunliffe and Sons can fairly be called "typical" of the outport merchant doing business in the Maryland and Virginia Tidewater. Henry Callister, their one-time factor, described it as "the most eminent house in one of the most trading places in England." Even making allowances for a certain amount of sycophancy on Callister's part (Foster Cunliffe and Sons was probably not even the largest merchant firm in Liverpool or the most well-connected; their rivals James and Richard Gildart probably had the edge on them on both counts), it was, however, sizable by the standards of its day. At mid-century, the Cunliffes were owners or part-owners of twenty-six ships, plying all the major Atlantic trade routes, including Lisbon, Guinea, the West Indies and America. On the Eastern Shore of

John W. Tyler is a Ph.D. candidate in history at Princeton University. He wishes to acknowledge the assistance and advice of John M. Murrin, Princeton University, and Edward Sloan III, Trinity College, Connecticut.

Maryland alone, they maintained five stores which remitted between 500 and 1600 hogsheads of tobacco annually.[3]

In London, however, the Cunliffes would have gone unnoticed beside the princely merchant houses of Micajah Perry, John Hyde or John Hanbury. A proper appraisal of Foster Cunliffe and Sons then would place them in the middling ranks of Britain's provincial merchants, a major firm within the port of Liverpool but not one on which the health of the nation's trade depended. Its significance for our purposes lies not in its middling size or typical nature but rather in the way in which by concentrating its resources within a small area, it was able to dominate an important sector of the Maryland trade.

One

The story of the Cunliffes is best told within the context of the important institutional changes occurring in the buying and selling of tobacco that accompanied the extraordinary rise of Scotland and the outports from the 1740s until the years just before the American Revolution. Before the advent of the Scottish and outport traders into the colonies, planters had consigned their crops to London merchants upon whom they depended for certain valuable services: receiving the cargo, paying customs duties and storing the crop until it could be sold at the best possible price. In return for these services, the consignment merchants received a commission of 2½ or 3 percent and were allowed to retain the discounts awarded them by customs officers for the payment of duties in cash. The net proceeds of the sale of the tobacco could be remitted to the planter in the form of previously ordered manufactured goods or placed in an individual account where they could be drawn upon by the planter in the form of bills of exchange.[4]

There were, however, several disadvantages for the planter in the consignment system. Planters were rarely satisfied with either the price, style or quality of the goods selected for them by London merchants. As Stephen Bordley put it, Americans were sent "anything that could be patched up for the plantations." Also under the consignment system, tobacco remained the property of the planter until it was sold. Thus he had to assume all risks for loss at sea, capture in war, or damage in handling. The long delay (sometimes almost a year and a half between the harvesting of the crop and the time when the planter first received word of his profits) necessitated an unusual reliance on credit. Thus it seemed to a growing number of planters suffering under the consignment system that too many of the variables of the trade lay beyond their control and in the hands of the London merchants whom they mistrusted.[5]

Some planters found the direct purchase system, used mainly by Scotland and the outports, to be an attractive alternative to consignment. By offering to purchase directly in the colonies, Scottish and outport merchants were able to break into a branch of trade long dominated by London. Under the direct purchase method, planters were no longer able to realize the price differential between European and colonial markets but they were at least relieved of the

many expenses and anxieties of consignment. Direct purchase proved particularly attractive to the smaller planter who needed ready money to meet expenses and expand his production. Also small planters' inferior and poorly prized crops failed to realize the high European prices that made consignment profitable. Consequently, the best tobacco still continued to be consigned to London while larger and larger shares of middling and inferior grades of tobacco were purchased in the colonies by the agents of Scotland and the outports. The change to the new system was dramatic; during the 1750s, two-thirds of the Maryland crop was still consigned to London, whereas by the time of the American Revolution only one quarter went to London. Thus within the space of a little over twenty years, the Scots had succeeded in reversing a long-established pattern of trade.[6]

The resident factor or agent of the Scottish or outport merchant firm was a key figure in the direct purchase system. Settling in river towns or near the heads of rivers, factors established a base of operations where they not only bought tobacco and assembled cargoes, but also maintained stores for the retailing of imported goods shipped them by their employers. Not only were goods immediately available at such stores but they also offered the planter a greater opportunity to exercise his own taste and discretion in the selection of goods. Thanks to the stores maintained by factors, the planter no longer had to be satisfied with what a London merchant had picked out for him.[7]

Factors also extended large amounts of goods on credit in order to attract a wider clientele. This pleased the planter who was able to defer payment for European goods and spend his cash on buying more land and slaves, the key variables in expanding his production. The credit provided in this fashion was of enormous importance to the rapidly burgeoning Chesapeake economy. But such vast amounts of credit ultimately had to come from somewhere and they certainly did not originate among the capital-poor merchant firms of Scotland or the outports.[8]

The ultimate source of this vast expansion of credit during the middle of the eighteenth century derived from the assured demand of the French tobacco monopoly. Without the increasing French purchases of British colonial tobacco after 1738, the direct purchase system would have had scant chance of success. In exchange for ample donations to the crown, the French Farmers-General received the sole right to import tobacco into France. The agents of the Farmers-General, who were making increasingly large purchases in England after 1738, were anxious to find British merchants who could guarantee large amounts of tobacco at reasonable prices. Obviously then the direct purchase system was ideally suited to the needs of the French monopoly. If the French were willing to buy the middling grades of tobacco sold by direct purchase merchants, Scotland and the outports were more than willing to take the low prices offered by the French in order to achieve a rapid turnover of their tobacco. The cash purchases of the French were like manna to the capital-starved outports and the proceeds made from the sales were rapidly reinvested in larger and larger stocks of goods for their busy stores in the Chesapeake. As the purchases of the French monopoly became regularized, more and more credit flowed outward toward America.[9]

The port of Liverpool was in a particularly fortuitous position to take advantage of the increased demand during the 1740s. With the War of the Austrian Succession looming ominously on the horizon, agents of the Farmers-General negotiated in England for continued shipments of tobacco during the impending conflict. Once the war had broken out, however, such agreements did not protect the colonial tobacco fleet from the depredations of French privateers. While wartime losses cut sharply into the London consignment trade, the north-of-Ireland route to the outports of Whitehaven and Liverpool remained relatively safe. Similarly direct purchase enjoyed a greater popularity during the war with planters who were unwilling to assume the high risks of wartime shipping losses. Thus as a consequence of the greater security of the northern outports, the agents of the French Farmers-General found relatively abundant supplies of tobacco available there at reasonable prices. The patterns of trade established by the French with the outports during the first years of the war lasted for almost a decade and provided a heyday for the merchants of these ports that was never equaled again in the eighteenth century.[10]

Such is the context within which the story of Foster Cunliffe and Sons must ultimately be placed.

Two

Foster Cunliffe, born in 1682, was the descendant of a well-connected but impecunious gentry family of northeastern Lancashire. His father, Ellis Cunliffe, B.D., had been a fellow of Jesus College, Cambridge and a chaplain of the royal residence at Speke. As a consequence of the boy's father's position, Charles II stood godfather at Foster's baptism. Foster "was originally intended for the Church but evinced a decided preference for commercial pursuits." Sometime "about the beginning of the century," Foster was apprenticed to merchant Richard Norris, MP for Liverpool in 1708 and a member of the circle of emergent Whig merchant-politicians surrounding Sir Thomas Johnson, the chief entrepreneur of Liverpool's embryonic Virginia trade and a leading civic figure.[11]

Although Foster Cunliffe's beginnings in trade were modest (he is listed in the 1708 Liverpool tax assessment as renting a house and store from Sir Thomas Johnson worth an annual value of ten guineas and possessing a stock of merchandise worth £24), his rise was rapid. He was elected mayor at age 34 in 1716 and again in the years 1717 and 1736. He served frequently as an alderman, once as deputy mayor in 1727, and finally as baliff in 1753. During the course of his lifetime, he made a considerable number of benefactions to local charitable institutions in Liverpool.[12]

Foster Cunliffe's two sons followed their father's example both in trade and in politics. Both were active partners in business with their father until his death in 1758. The older son, Ellis, was MP for Liverpool from 1754 until his own death in 1767.[13] Ellis was made a baronet in 1759 and a Lord of Trade and Plantations in January, 1763. He was a leading figure in the effort to expand Liverpool's sphere of influence deeper into the interior by navigational improvements in the River Weaver. Foster Cunliffe's second son, Robert, was

mayor of Liverpool in 1759. Upon becoming the second baronet at his brother's death in 1767, Sir Robert retired to Acton Park in Denbighshire. Thus within the space of three short generations, the Cunliffes had reestablished themselves upon the countryside in the manner of their ancestors.[14]

The early history of the Cunliffe firm, and the background of their operations in Maryland, is clouded in obscurity. The Liverpool Port Records (preserved from the late seventeenth century through Midsummer 1737) would have provided some clue as to the nature of their trade but have been so badly water-damaged that for many of the years in question they are almost unusable. The lacunae in the data are such that they render any statistical compilation of the Cunliffes' operations highly conjectural except for the tolerably complete records of ships returning inward to Liverpool during the middle 1720s. From January 1725 through January 1726, the Liverpool Port Books lists the Cunliffes as owners of fifteen separate ventures, including three voyages returning from the West Indies, four from Ireland and the nearby Isle of Man, and eight from Virginia. Unfortunately from this set of records, it is impossible to tell how many of the West India voyages first made stops on the Guinea coast, or how many of the vessels returning from the Chesapeake had been sent to the West Indies on the outward leg of the voyage. Such was certainly the case in some instances, as in the example of the Cunliffes' ship *Robert and John* which arrived in Virginia on July 19, 1726, with a cargo of sundry European goods, rum, molasses and sugar, or that of the Liverpool ship *Content* which arrived in Virginia on the following day with molasses, sugar and 145 slaves having come from the Gold Coast by way of St. Christopher.[15] Surviving customs records therefore indicate that by the middle 1720s the Cunliffes had already begun to follow the patterns of trade that would continue to bring them profit during the next three decades.

More specifically, the Virginia Naval Officers' Returns indicate an increasingly regular trade during the late 1730s between the Cunliffes and the planters of the Rappahannock and South Potomac Customs Districts. (These two districts with their access to the developing lands of the Piedmont beyond Fredericksburg and Virginia's Northern Neck would have been an extremely attractive location for outport factors unable to break the hegemony of the London consignment merchants over the York and James River valleys.) Interestingly enough, a curious distinction develops between the Cunliffes' trade with the two Virginia customs districts. Each year on the Rappahannock, the 150 ton *Elizabeth and Anne,* Edward Loxam master, would arrive in the spring with a cargo of European goods and depart in midsummer with approximately 400 hogsheads of tobacco. In the South Potomac Customs District, however, trade seems to have involved an exchange of slaves for a more diversified return cargo, as in the case of the Cunliffe ship *Liverpool Merchant* which arrived from Africa on July 26, 1738, with a cargo of one parcel of "elephants' teeth" and seventy "passengers." The ship departed on October 31 with 71 hogsheads of tobacco, 1000 barrel staves and 16 tons of pig iron. Either tobacco culture on the Northern Neck was not sufficiently advanced at this time to supply full cargoes, or the Cunliffes preferred the iron of

the area's newly founded furnaces and the staves and naval stores that were the natural byproducts of hewing plantations out of the thick woods of the rapidly developing Northern Neck.[16]

The Cunliffe trade with Virginia began to taper off in the early 1740s. The last Cunliffe ship left the South Potomac Naval District in 1741 and the Rappahannock in 1744. After 1738, the scale of their business in Virginia may have been increasingly overshadowed by their operations on the Eastern Shore of Maryland, which became more profitable under their newly appointed head factor, Robert Morris. The exact reason for this transfer of the Cunliffes' principal business interests from Virginia to Maryland is nowhere explicitly stated, but it is fascinating to speculate that the increased buying of the agents of the French Farmers-General in Liverpool at this time may have directed the Cunliffes' attention to the milder brown-leaf tobacco grown on the Upper Eastern Shore. This particular type of tobacco was regarded as only a "middling" grade by the English but was actually preferred by the French. Thus the Cunliffes in order to accommodate the French demand may have transferred the focal point of their business from Virginia to the Upper Eastern Shore of Maryland.[17]

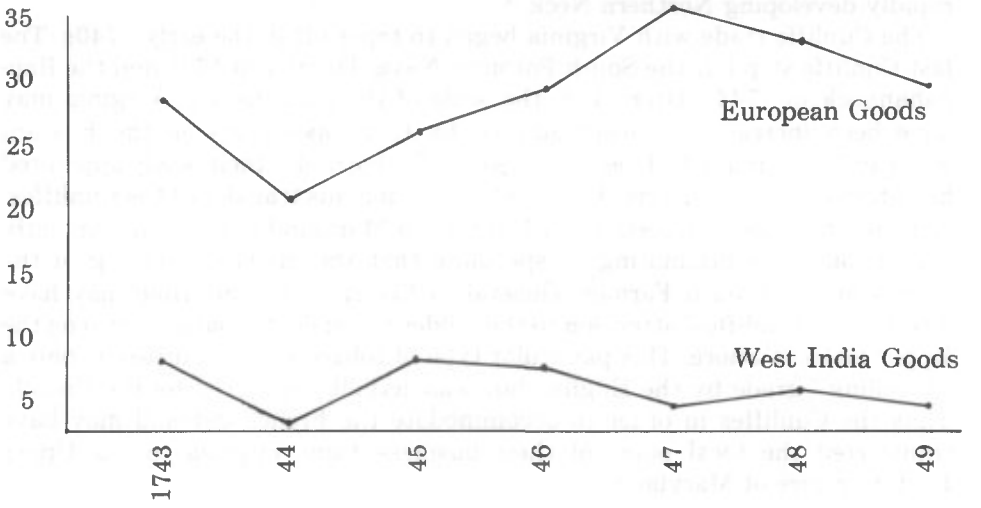
Three

Although the Cunliffes had apparently carried on business in the Upper Eastern Shore area since 1721,[18] little record of their presence survives before the arrival in 1738 of Robert Morris, Sr., who assumed the position of chief factor at their principal store in Oxford, Maryland. During the twelve short years in which Morris served the Cunliffes at Oxford, his forceful personality and imaginative business sense made a lasting impression on the tobacco trade in the area.

Trained as a "nailmaker," Morris overcame the obstacle of low birth to become one of the most important merchants in Maryland. He was christened on April 23, 1711, at St. Peter's Church, Liverpool. His father, Andrew Morris had been a sea captain in the Chesapeake trade from 1710 until his death in 1728. Morris's elder sister Ellin [sic] married a Liverpool butcher and his younger sister Margaret wedded the clerk of a London merchant. These were humble beginnings indeed for a man who died possessed of an estate worth several thousand pounds.[19]

In his memoirs, Morris's contemporary Jeremiah Banning, a sea captain, merchant and one-time Naval Officer of the Port of Oxford, described Robert Morris as "a mercantile genius" without "equal in the land." According to Banning, if Morris had "any political point to carry, he defeated all opposition." Banning credits Morris with having given "birth to the inspection law" of 1747 and introducing the keeping of business accounts in sterling money. (Business at this time was plagued with the problem of rapidly fluctuating exchange rates for currency and tobacco. Thus such an innovation would have been a substantial improvement.) At the time of his death in 1750, Robert Morris was regarded as "the most accomplished factor (without exception) in all Maryland."[20]

FIGURE 1:
VALUE OF IMPORTED GOODS IN HUNDREDS OF £ STERLING MONEY



When Morris arrived at the town of Oxford in the middle of the eighteenth century, it was second only to Annapolis as a major center for the collection of tobacco and the distribution of imported goods in Maryland. Shipping records for slightly later in the century indicate the relative importance of the two towns. For instance in the year 1761, 71 vessels of 4,261 tons burthen cleared the port of Oxford, whereas in the same year 95 vessels (7,292 tons burthen) left the capital city of Annapolis.[21]

Located on a narrow strip of land projecting into a bend in the Tred Avon River a mile above its confluence with the Choptank, Oxford provided an excellent harbor for ships of medium tonnage. In reminiscing about Oxford at mid-century, Jeremiah Banning wrote,

> The storekeepers and other retailers both on the western and eastern side of the Chesapeake repaired there to lay in their supplies. Oxford Street and the Strand were covered with busy crowds ushering in commerce from almost every quarter of the globe. Seven or eight large ships at the same time were frequently seen at Oxford, delivering goods and completing their lading; nor was it uncommon to dispatch a ship with 500 hhds. of tobacco within twelve days of its arrival.[22]

Although it by no means rivaled the trade of Philadelphia or Norfolk, Oxford's commerce was substantial by colonial standards.

The Cunliffe factory at Oxford was one of the eight competing overseas merchant firms established there. The most successful of the Cunliffe's competitors appear to have been their Liverpool rivals James and Richard Gildart, Whitehaven merchant William Gale, and independent Maryland merchant Samuel Chamberlaine, Esq.[23]

Throughout the 1740s and 50s, the Cunliffe store at Oxford maintained a steady inventory of goods worth about £2400 sterling. The 1756 inventory in-

dicates a wide assortment of dry goods ranging from luxurious satins to sail canvas and osnaburg for slaves' clothing. The store also stocked a great variety of hardware, leather goods, building supplies, ammunition and, of course, an ample amount of rum.[24] Large overseas merchant firms like the Cunliffes, who could afford to keep on hand such large supplies of imported goods, maintained a tremendous advantage over small, independent country traders.[25]

Aside from their main store at Oxford, the Cunliffes maintained a chain of four subsidiary stores manned by assistant factors: one at Cambridge, nine miles up the Choptank from Oxford; another twenty miles north near the head of the Wye River; and two stores on the Chester River almost forty miles northward, one being at Newtown [Chestertown] and the other at "Townside," or Crumpton.[26] Typically such stores were expected to draw customers from the surrounding countryside within a twelve to fourteen mile radius and supply an approximate annual purchase of 300 hogsheads of tobacco. Their stocks of goods were somewhat smaller than the Oxford store as indicated by the combined inventories of the Cambridge and Wye River stores which Robert Morris appraised at only £3348. Each factor would be assisted by one or more clerks and employ ten to fourteen slaves in loading ships and transporting tobacco from the interior. The heavy concentration of Cunliffe stores within the relatively limited four-county area (Queen Anne's, Kent, Talbot and Dorchester) is typical of the methods of Scottish and outport merchants seeking to engross large portions of the trade within a specific region.[27]

Through the letters of one of the Cunliffe's assistant factors, Henry Callister, we have the opportunity to observe at first hand the day-to-day operations of one of these smaller subsidiary stores. Born on the Isle of Man, of a good family, Callister received a sound education in the classics, history, science and geography. (The quality of this education may well be one of the sources of the tension that latter grew up between Callister and his self-taught superior, Robert Morris.) After his formal education, Callister served as an apprentice in a counting house in Dublin and spent an additional year as a clerk in France before coming to Maryland in 1741. His contract with the Cunliffes, quite possibly a form of indenture, specified an annual salary of £20 and the "privilege" of free transport of two hogshead of tobacco annually.[28]

Callister was not immediately pleased with the prospect of his new home. One of his early letters home to England indicates his dissatisfaction,

> The country being altogether wild and savage. . ., an immense forest filled with vermin of various sorts and sizes, European merchants have found it to their interest to introduce new breeds of vermin which they keep the country supplied with: viz. cats, dogs, Negroes and convicts. We are swarming with Musketoes, worms of every sort. . .,spiders, snakes, hornets, wasps, sea nettles, ticks, gnats, thunder and lightening, excessive heat, excessive cold, irregularity in abundance.[29]

In the same letter, however, Callister added a significant afterthought that reveals much about the ambition that led a man to come to America as a fac-


ELK RIVER
SASSAFRAS RIVER
KENT CO.
BALTIMORE
"TOWNSIDE"
NEWTOWN (CHESTERTOWN)
QUEEN ANNE CO.
CHESTER RIVER
CENTREVILLE
QUEENSTOWN
KENT ISLAND
ANNAPOLIS
HEAD OF THE WYE
TUCKAHOE
EASTERN BAY
WYE RIVER
MILES RIVER
EASTON
TRED AVON RIVER
DOVER BRIDGE
OXFORD
CHOPTANK RIVER
TALBOT CO.
CAMBRIDGE
LITTLE CHOPTANK RIVER
DORCHESTER CO.

tor, "The best character of this country, I think is that the industrious may live very well here," he remarked, "and those that love pleasures but poorly."[30]

Callister soon adjusted to his new situation and after spending several years as Robert Morris's chief assistant at Oxford, he was transferred to the Cunliffe store at the Head of the Wye River. One of the important aspects of Callister's job was maintaining a regular correspondence with his employers in Liverpool, whom he kept informed of changing business conditions, the state of the tobacco crop, and local political developments. Callister found the character of trade at the Head of the Wye quite different from Oxford. "There are two disadvantages I have to struggle with among the planters in this neighborhood," he observed. "There are certain independent shippers that are hard to buy cheap of, or else poor indigent fellows who are too much entangled with . . . country merchants." Most of the land near the Wye River was in the hands of the wealthy Lloyd family or their relations by marriage, the Bennetts. Large planters like the Lloyds were far more likely to consign their tobacco rather than sell it in the colony. Small planters, on the other hand, were constantly borrowing from independent merchants in order to purchase the seed and tools necessary for planting the next crop or clearing more land. Callister had little success attracting away the business of the consignment merchants but he did considerably better competing for the small planter trade of the independent country merchants.[31]

The Cunliffes never lacked competition even in some of the remote areas surrounding their smaller stores. One of Henry Callister's early letters from the Head of the Wye gives an accurate indication of the number of merchants doing business on the Upper Eastern Shore in 1746. London tobacco merchants, Anthony Bacon and William Anderson supplied the principal competition outside Oxford. Bacon maintained a large store in partnership with wealthy planter James Dickinson at Dover Bridge on the Choptank River. Anderson was involved in two business associations in the area. Queen Anne County records mention a partnership between Anderson and land magnate Edward Lloyd III as well as his brother Richard Lloyd, while Anderson's other business venture in the area was a store on Tuckahoe Creek which he financed together with two of the Cunliffe's own factors, Robert Morris and John Hanmer. Surprising as it may seem to us, the Cunliffes were not aware of this partnership until 1750.[32]

Strong competition in the Wye River area came from large planters who retailed imported goods as an outgrowth of their own consignment business. The principal planter-merchants were members of the extensive Lloyd family connection: Edward Lloyd III, Richard Lloyd, Richard Bennett and James Hollyday (Edward Lloyd's former guardian). Two members of the equally prominent Goldsborough family, William and Robert, also maintained stores at their plantations. The far-reaching family connections of such men were Callister's chief obstacle in his efforts to gain a larger share of the Wye River crop for the Cunliffes.[33]

Competition from country merchants was far less intense. In 1746, Callister mentions only Thomas Ringgold at Newtown and a "Mr. Banks" who kept a

store near the Head of the Wye. At this time, small country merchants rarely participated in the tobacco trade on a large scale, choosing instead to glean their profits from the grain trade and retail business.[34]

Callister's main advantage in competing with country merchants came from the large stocks of imported goods kept by the Cunliffes at their stores. According to Callister, trade can never be carried on,

> without a well-appointed stock of European goods . . ., for it is in a manner constitutional here, that if a planter takes one article of a merchant (if he has not the ready money . . .), he must let his whole crop go to that merchant, or at least a whole hogshead.[35]

The practice of extending goods on credit in return for a guaranteed supply of tobacco at the next crop was known as "buying a consignment" and was the favorite business technique of the Scottish and outport merchants. As Robert Morris, Callister's superior, was fond of saying, "I never knew a good Marylander yet that was not got by a merchant."[36]

The buying of consignments was regarded in some circles as not quite honest, but because of the intensity of competition, factors were frequently forced to resort to sharp business practice. "A man of business," wrote Callister,

> must have a good deal of devil in him . . . he must not be obstinately just; he must be subtle as well as supple; must rob Peter to pay Paul; without the wiles of a serpent, the innocence of a dove would be betrayed and crushed. I believe for all this that a steady perservearance will in the end be crowned with success, but while the grass grows, the stud starves.[37]

Some of Callister's letters indicate that he was acutely sensitive to charges of "making tobacco with a design to defraud the public,"[38] but if he was any more guilty of fraud than his fellow merchants, he covered his traces well, for no indication of it survives in his papers.

Although "buying a consignment" might be technically honest, it is very easy to see how such a practice could have lured planters into heavy indebtedness. The outport factors in their efforts to remit larger and larger volumes of tobacco often extended credit to small planters whom other merchants would have regarded as unsafe risks. Callister apparently erred in this regard while doing business at the Head of the Wye, as is illustrated by the letter which he wrote in response to criticisms from Robert Morris,

> I think myself bound in conscience to acknowledge my faults but wherein my conduct seems justifiable to censure since my coming up here I am very unhappy not to see as clearly as others. My situation and circumstances does expose me to danger more than others and I have made some bad debts, but those same persons have likewise disappointed other traders of more experience.[39]

Factors sometimes had to resort to foreclosures in order to settle bad accounts, as Callister did in at least one case; but for the most part, legal action rarely ended to the merchant's complete satisfaction. Merchants claimed the colonial courts were too lenient with the planters. "If the people are not able to

pay," Callister complained, "you must let them walk off or stay to defy you, the laws are for them in both theory and in practice." Many debtors ran away to avoid imprisonment but then would return only a year or so later. The collection of bad debts was a great art that had to be handled with the utmost delicacy. "My old debts will come in for the most part next year," wrote Callister, "or be dragged in by head and shoulders; we could not get our old debts this year, they had no tobacco; if I had been severe half of the country would have run away." Despite all his problems in collecting bad debts, Callister did understand that ever-expanding credit was at the heart of the tobacco trade. "The substantial people . . . complain that large credits ruin the country," remarked Callister, but "they speak feeling with their private interest, for these credits keep down the price of their crops, but it is a question with me whether the country is not enriched by credits and whether merchants have not the greater cause to complain, the tobacco bought in this manner is in the long run the dearest purchase."[40]

Aside from extending large amounts of credit, Callister also found it necessary to offer to buy tobacco "on the ground" for future delivery. This was done in order to secure the large amounts of tobacco needed to fill the Cunliffe ships and satiate the French demand. The planters knew that large firms like the Cunliffes were particularly susceptible to such demands and so they sold their tobacco on the ground to avoid the cost of delivery, which over large areas often amounted to as much as one third of the initial purchase price.[41]

When crops were scarce, planters could make such demands on the merchants. But the planters by no means retained the upper hand indefinitely, as Henry Callister once wryly observed,

> The planters are quite down in the mouth and they will take up nothing until they are almost starving with cold and they seldom now appear but when it blows a stiff Norwester, in this they imitate the wild geese, for the same wind generally brings both in sight.[42]

Planters and merchants rarely both enjoyed prosperity at the same time; conditions that favored one hurt the other. Thus the tobacco trade at mid-century was a welter of interrelated, competing interests: planters versus factor, London versus the outports, consignment versus direct purchase.

Callister's performance during his first years at the Head of the Wye River must have pleased his employers. When his original contract expired in 1747, the Cunliffes renewed it at an increased salary of £35 and a privilege of four hogsheads. Later in 1747, Callister evidently felt financially secure enough to marry Sarah Trippe, the daughter of Henry Trippe II, a large landowner in the Wye River area. He did not marry, however, without first seeking the permission of his employers:

> I have entered into the state of holy matrimony; as I did not know but this might be disagreeable to you, I thought it my duty before I entered upon it to have Mr. R. M.'s approbation and consent, which he readily granted, and I doubt not it will be as agreeable to you.[43]

Some firms looked with disfavor upon their factors marrying in the colonies, fearing that they might become too indulgent in extending credit to relatives and friends, but other merchants saw marriage connections as an effective means of establishing business ties. The control of a factor's absentee employers extended to every conceivable aspect of his life and trade. It is therefore easy to see how misunderstandings and resentments could develop.[44]

Callister rapidly grew tired of the area around the Head of the Wye. For reasons of health and sociability, he longed to return to the more civilized environs of Oxford.[45] Callister's wish to return was not granted, however, until just before Robert Morris's death in 1750. During his last years at the Head of the Wye, Callister began to give full rein to his jealousy of his superiors and his resentments against his employers, feelings which the isolation of his situation only exacerbated. Whether or not such an experience can fairly be called typical of most assistant factors running remote subsidiary stores is a matter of conjecture, but Callister's own years at the Head of the Wye River shaped for life many of his attitudes toward business and his employers.

FOUR

Throughout the 1740s, the Cunliffes remained the preeminent British merchant firm doing business on Maryland's Upper Eastern Shore. The Oxford Port Records and a surviving account book belonging to Robert Morris amply indicate the extent of their trade. During the period from January 1743 (the first complete year for both the account book and the port records) through December 1749 (the last full year before Morris's death), the chief exports of the Cunliffe stores in Maryland were tobacco and pig iron, with the remainder of the ship's cargo being rounded out by barrel staves and barrel heading. From 1743–49, the Cunliffes exported a total of 6,710 hogsheads of tobacco, 296 ¾ tons of pig iron and barrel staves numbering in the tens of thousands. The average annual shipment during Morris's agency was 958 hogsheads of tobacco and 42 tons of pig iron. Such shipments would have represented 1/30 of the amount of tobacco exported from Maryland at that time and about 1/40 of the amount of pig iron.[46]

The main European commodities exchanged for the Maryland tobacco and pig iron were English manufactured goods and salt. The manufactured goods are never specifically identified in the customs records but are described simply, as in the case of the *Liverpool Merchant* in 1750, as "sundry European goods by five cockets." (A cocket was a customs certificate issued when the goods left England.) The Oxford store inventory of 1756, previously mentioned, gives a good indication of what such cargoes might have contained. By the middle eighteenth century, Liverpool had become the special entrepôt of certain products: Kendall cottons, Irish sheetings, cheap frizes, cheap kersyes, yarn, hose, bottles and glassware, refined white sugar, the finest ceramics from Staffordshire and the Wedgwood factories, Sheffield and Birmingham cutlery, and the best rope and twine.[47]

Despite this variety of goods, the leading export of Liverpool, at least in terms of quantity, was salt. Salt was imported by the Cunliffes into Maryland

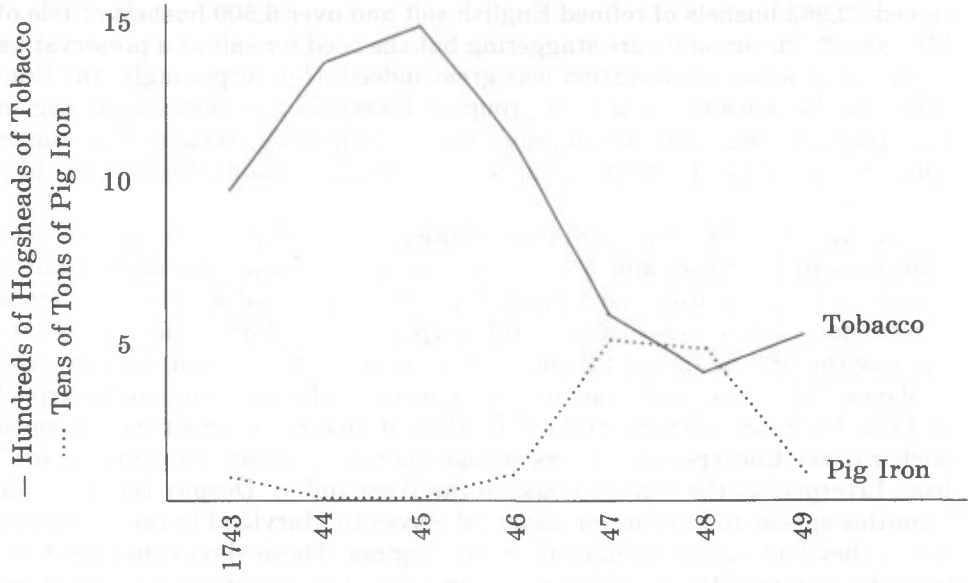
in amounts far exceeding any other single European commodity. From January 1743 through December 1749, the Cunliffe stores in Maryland received 22,963 bushels of refined English salt and over 6,500 bushels of Isle of May salt.[48] The amounts are staggering but the need for salt as a preservative in the days before refrigeration was great indeed. Not surprisingly, the Cunliffes had been leaders among a group of Liverpool merchants agitating in Parliament for navigational improvements in the River Weaver that would speed the delivery of salt from the brine springs of inland Cheshire to their own port.[49]

Although the most important trade route for the Cunliffes ran directly from Maryland to Liverpool and involved an exchange of salt and manufactured goods for tobacco, iron and timber, Cunliffe ships plied a variety of trade routes. According to one historian of Liverpool, Foster Cunliffe and Sons were "among the first to appreciate and turn to account the incipient African trade in slaves," after the trade was formally opened to the merchants of Liverpool in 1730. Fully one fifth of the Cunliffe fleet at any given time never dropped anchor in the Chesapeake but was engaged in the so-called "triangular trade" from Liverpool to the Guinea Coast to the West Indies. Despite this fact, the Cunliffes appear to have never imported slaves to Maryland in the quantities which they had earlier brought them to Virginia. Those slaves that the Cunliffes did bring to Maryland, however, came with few exceptions, by way of the West Indies.[50]

Foster Cunliffe and Sons did, however, do a slightly larger business in the transportation of voluntary and involuntary servants. From September 1746 to August 1748, the Cunliffes brought 38 indentured servants to Oxford. Sold to planters for terms of seven to fourteen years service, these servants were valued by Robert Morris at only £5 each.[51] Aside from a sporadic business in indentured servants throughout the 1740s, the Cunliffes had two other large scale encounters in the servant trade. After the battle of Culloden Moor in 1746, Ellis and Robert Cunliffe, both officers during the campaign against the Young Pretender, secured from the government a contract for the deportation of some of the captured prisoners. Although the exact number of prisoners brought to Maryland is not known, they were apparently too numerous for Robert Morris to dispose of quickly and he complained greatly about the cost of feeding them. A similar problem occurred in 1755 when Jeremiah Banning brought a shipload of dispossessed Acadians to Oxford for the Cunliffes. The Acadians, however, seem to have aroused more public sympathy than the Scots, but they too were forced to live on charity for several months before adequate places could be found for them all. Presumably neither venture proved particularly profitable for the Cunliffes, which may explain why they did so little in this branch of trade.[52]

Trade with the West Indies played a small but significant role in Cunliffe operations in Maryland during the 1740s. Although thousands of gallons of rum and molasses were unloaded at Oxford, the cash value of such goods was slight in comparison with European manufactures. During Robert Morris' term as head factor, the West India trade was carried on in a triangular or even

FIGURE 2:
CUNLIFFE EXPORTS FROM OXFORD, 1743-1749



quadrangular fashion. Ships stopped first in either both Guinea and the West Indies, or in the West Indies alone before arriving in Maryland. At least two-fifths of the Cunliffe vessels arriving in Oxford from 1743-49 had touched land previously in the West Indies. Although the cash value of West Indian goods sold in Maryland was comparatively low, the profits of the voyage, when combined with the sale of slaves or European goods in the West Indies, must have been sufficiently high to warrant employing so large a portion of the Cunliffe fleet in the trade.[53]

The 1740s were not a uniformly prosperous decade for the Cunliffes. As Figure 2 reveals, the amount of tobacco exported by their agents declined significantly during the latter part of the period. Depending as they did on tobacco as the cash-producing staple of their trade, such decreases could mean sharp losses. The drop in the amount of tobacco exported, however, was partially offset by an increase in shipments of pig iron. Pig iron, purchased by Cunliffe agents on the western shore of Maryland, reached its highest levels in the tobacco-scarce years 1747 to 1748. The pig iron was on the whole a less desirable commodity is suggested by the fact that in 1749 when tobacco was more abundant, the amount of pig iron exported dropped sharply. Thus we may postulate that the declining Cunliffe tobacco exports in the late 1740s were a matter of necessity rather than choice, and the reasons for such a decline warrant further investigation.

FIVE

A number of important variables affected the tobacco trade in the late 1740s but among the most significant was the impact of the Maryland tobacco in-

spection law of 1747, which probably cut sharply into the amount of tobacco available for export. Despite the law's ambiguous effect on trade, Cunliffe agents played an important role in promoting its initial acceptance.

The inspection act of 1747 was the product of long controversy and agitation. The reputation, and consequently the price, of Chesapeake tobacco had sunk to an extremely low state during the first part of the eighteenth century; many careless or unscrupulous planters had included the "trash" parts of the tobacco plant (the stem and lower leaves) in their crop. This had resulted in not only tobacco of a very poor quality but also a huge oversupply glutting the market.[54] In 1744, Henry Callister wrote,

> The large quantities of tobacco exported here must, without a doubt, be discouraging and ruinous to trade, the greatest comfort we have with regard to the quality of it is that we are opined our neighboring factors ship a great deal more of this sort. . . . We buy no tobacco at present but we are sure from the character of the planter will be good, and of this sort there is not a great deal.[55]

The problems of oversupply and poor quality had to be solved before tobacco would again become profitable.

In order to correct the situation, Virginia enacted compulsory inspection acts first in 1713 and then again in 1730 (renewed in 1736). Under the Virginia system, all tobacco had to be brought to centrally located warehouses where it was inspected by colony agents called "receivers." Inspection initially provoked fierce opposition from small planters who depended on middling and inferior grades of tobacco for their livelihood, and who were concerned that a large part of their crop would be excluded as trash.[56]

Some of the larger planters, who had previously consigned their tobacco to London merchants directly from the wharves of their own plantations, initially opposed the law as an unnecessary trouble and expense. They withdrew their objections, however, when they saw that Virginia tobacco was steadily attracting higher prices than that grown in neighboring Maryland. Merchant factors quickly perceived an advantage to be gained by locating stores near the inspection warehouses. Factors also gained a larger portion of the trade away from London consignment merchants at this time by purchasing tobacco "on the ground" from planters who were unwilling to pay the cost of having their tobacco rolled or taken in lighters to the warehouses.[47]

Soon after the implementation of the more successful 1730 version of the Virginia law, some Marylanders began to look enviously southward. Daniel Dulany in an "Address to the Proprietor" noted with alarm the exodus of many factors to Virginia in search of higher prices and warned against the impending loss of the all-important French market.[58] The severity of the situation in Maryland is illustrated by an extract from a letter from a London merchant reprinted in the *Maryland Gazette.*

> I am sorry to advise you that tobacco still continues low . . . and will not answer the monstrous charge that at present attends to it. The great quantities of trash that is shipped lowers the price of good tobacco which would sell to good advantage. . . . I am afraid without some sudden ammendment the Virginians will rob you of the

whole trade, at least they will always have the preference for all they can make, which will soon be sufficient to supply the whole demand.[59]

Without some prompt action, many Marylanders felt that the basis of their whole economy would soon collapse.

During the interim, several Maryland factors began to establish private inspection systems of their own. Robert Morris, Sr., was apparently one of the leaders of this group, as Callister reported to his employers,

> There have been some overtures at our assemblies for a Tobacco Law but they had such disputes among them as they seem to divert their regard for the trade, it is laid aside for the present, they will be forced to it at last; in the meantime Mr. Morris has made a law to his receivers that may answer the need as well, for if an Inspection Law would entitle the tobacco to a price . . . this makes no alteration that way, it only fits it for the market. Almost all the merchants of the county are come into the scheme, but none of them is so well able to put it into practice.[60]

The ability of Morris to establish a private inspection system, despite the obvious unwillingness of some planters to submit to it, says much about the preeminent position of the Cunliffe firm in the Eastern Shore area. Shortly after the private inspection program's institution, Callister noted,

> Most of the planters are as yet great rogues. The receivers are not so; they refuse, I believe one-third part as much as they receive, and the planters cull it over again. I get sometimes a hogshead of good out of two or three bad. . . . I hope we will be able to stand our ground; there is not a store in the country that can vie with us.[61]

Making the private inspection system work was not easy; Henry Callister was once threatened with a law suit when he deducted money from a planter's account for trash that had to be thrown out when the crop was inspected.[62] Independent inspection systems, like the Cunliffes', might help to improve the reputation of tobacco exported by a particular merchant, but there could be no general amelioration in the price of Maryland tobacco until colony-wide measures were taken.

Public controversy about the idea continued to rage until May 1747 when the House of Delegates finally passed an inspection act. As soon as the law received the governor's signature, Henry Callister wrote quickly to his friend Charles Craven, an employee in the Liverpool office of Foster Cunliffe and Sons, "We have got a tobacco law at last, . . . and we shall see quickly what it will do." Later he reported that, "tobacco is now on the advance on the strength of the new inspection law"; the price for average tobacco had increased from 10s. per hundredweight at 12s. 6d.[63]

Morris and Callister, however, both foresaw one problem with the new inspection law that divided them from some of their fellow advocates of the plan. At the time the act was being debated, some proponents of inspection had sought a reduction in officers' fees and old debts (both commonly calculated in pounds of tobacco) that would reflect the newly enhanced value of the staple. This proposal came as a sharp blow to those factors who had earlier instituted their own private inspection systems. In a letter in the *Maryland Gazette* for June 2, 1747, "An Eastern Shore Factor" (whom internal evidence reveals to

have been Morris himself) argues that because of his private inspection system, he had never received any trash tobacco and therefore felt no obligation to make any adjustment in the tobacco debts owed him. Morris cited as a precedent the Virginia inspection law of 1742, which while it reduced officers' fees had made no alteration in debts. Morris further contended that the high number of planter bankruptcies, which merchants had to endure with little hope of recovering their losses, was reduction enough in the matter of old debts.[64]

Morris's letter brought a stinging reply from "A Planter" who conceded that Morris might well have never received any trash tobacco but accused him of having profited by the low state of the preinspection staple by charging the same inflated prices for European goods that the other factors did. "Planter" concluded that, "for as much as the legislature cannot take notice of particular case, he [Morris] will be bound in conscience, after an Inspecting Law to remit the debts due him double the Quantity that the rest of his Fraternity may be obliged to deduct." Then "Planter" added the bitterly ironic postscript, "A generous British merchant such as I take this Factor's Employer to be, would not even desire to gain, unless those he deals with gain along with him, or are the better for him; and much more would scorn to make an unjust profit."[65] Despite Morris' objections, "Planter" carried his point and old debts were proportionately reduced.

There were also other objections to the way in which the new law was enforced. Callister complained that the government inspectors did not sort the tobacco into grades of quality as the Cunliffe receivers had done. "The inspectors will not trouble themselves to distinguish the quality in their [crop] notes, and are as often not capable to distinguish, or if they undertook it are little to be relied upon." Tobacco merchant William Anderson complained about the same problem: "Unless there is some method fallen upon to prevent the Inspectors from putting long and short, dark and bright, good and indifferent in one cask, it will never be fitt for any good market."[66]

Another problem with the law was that inspection caused a serious delay in the shipping of the crop to England. "I cannot think the Tobacco Law will answer the end it is designed for," wrote Henry Callister,

> the most material objections I have to offer are the limited time for getting it ready, the Virginians will be two months at market before us, I think since we cannot keep close up to them, we had better be six months behind them, there might be another market.[67]

By 1751, when the tobacco inspection law was beginning to be considered for renewal, Callister had become so disenchanted with the law that he cynically predicted that the law would be dropped so that there could be another adjustment in debts.

> It is confidently expected that the tobacco law will drop at the expiration of five years; the people for the most part are against reviving it. The consequence must be that [if the price of tobacco had been enhanced 2s. 6d. per hundredweight] it must of course be worsened as much on its dropping and you need not expect they

> will add 2.5s. to their debts outstanding; thus in two or three times making and unmaking tobacco laws, they may after a fashion clear 10s. and pay off all their debts.[68]

Despite Callister's dour predictions, the inspection law was, in fact, renewed and the price of Maryland tobacco continued to benefit from the salutary effect of inspection.

The overall impact of the law, however, is somewhat unclear. Both Callister and Morris had confidently predicted that the passage of an inspection law would make no difference in the quality of the tobacco that they exported. "I cannot think," commented Callister,

> that the trader will receive any manner of advantage from the inspection law, especially in our circumstances. I daresay our tobacco at present is little inferior to what it will be then. . . .[69]

What Callister and Morris did not anticipate, however, was that although the quality of the tobacco they handled might well be unchanged, the volume would not be the same. And it was on volume, rather than a high unit price, that the outport merchants' profits depended. We have already seen that the amount of tobacco exported by the Cunliffes from Oxford decreased sharply after 1746, thus it is tempting to speculate that the tobacco inspection act of 1747 might well have improved the situation for the planter and consignment merchant while making profit margins slimmer for the direct purchase trader. When reexamined in this light, inspection may prove not to have been so beneficial to all concerned as most historians have thought.[70]

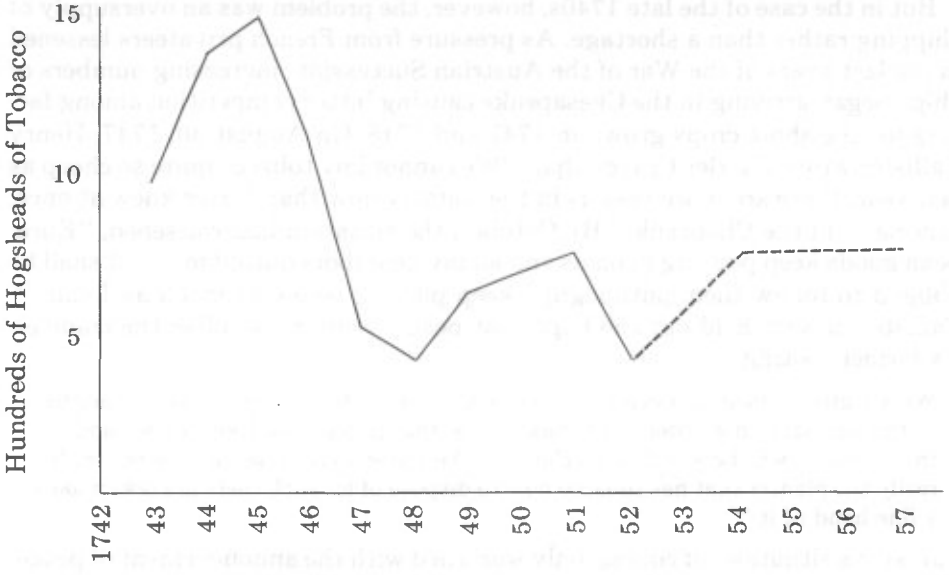
SIX

As attractive as it is to postulate that the inspection law was one of the causes of declining Cunliffe tobacco exports from Oxford, there exists another still more plausible explanation of the phenomenon.

Profit for the merchant involved in the tobacco trade hinged on a delicate balance between the size of the tobacco crop and the amount of shipping available to take it to England. If crops were large and there were only a few ships available, the factor was in a particularly fortuitous position; "The happy arrival of the *Robert and John,*" Callister reported one year, "has put us in a condition to buy what tobacco we please. . . . She is the first ship arrived in the river this year; I hope we shall make the best advantage of it." On the other hand, when crops were short, ships arriving too late in the colonies might find that the bottom had fallen out of the market, as was the case in the fall of 1744. "The ships in the London trade have beat us fairly," moaned Callister, "yours are the worst accounts I have seen. . . . I lose heartily by shipping you tobacco. I don't cover the cost, even allowing my portage."[71]

Callister's comment draws attention to freight rates, one of the key indicators of the state of this delicate balance between crop size and available shipping. As freight rates were one of the most crucial variable costs of the tobacco trade, they are, according to one authority,

FIGURE 3:
CUNLIFFE TOBACCO EXPORTS FROM OXFORD, 1742–1757



a good indication of the state of trade at any given time. They indicate the amount of shipping employed in relation to the amount of goods to be transported, and indicate indirectly the amount of risk involved, because the shipowner must meet his insurance premium out of the proceeds of the freight.[72]

This variable could be particularly important for outport factors. As Callister indicated to his employers in his letter of 1744 cited above, the arrival of a large fleet would mean low freight rates and lower rates might induce more planters to consign their crops that year.

At other times, however, when shipping was scarce (and especially during wartime), freight rates could rise so high as to render a high-bulk, low-value commodity like tobacco completely unprofitable. Such was the case in May of 1746, when Callister wrote,

> Tobacco now being low is unable to support the necessary charges attending to it, which charges instead of lessening with the commodity rise still higher at the same time [as there is] no proportional augmentation in the price at market. . . . We understand the Scotch factors have all received orders from their constituents to buy no tobacco. . . . We have been expecting like commands, but hope the greatest danger is over now.[73]

Facing similar problems, Dr. Charles Carroll, an independent merchant of Annapolis, wrote to his correspondents in England,

> I have found the rate of insurance and freight so high and tobacco so low at home [England] that I thought it best to secure something [rather] than risk being brought into debt, and therefore sold my tobacco in the country before the arrival of your ships.[74]

When fleets were small and freight rates high, merchants' profits were slim indeed.

But in the case of the late 1740s, however, the problem was an oversupply of shipping rather than a shortage. As pressure from French privateers lessened in the last years of the War of the Austrian Succession, increasing numbers of ships began arriving in the Chesapeake causing bitter competition among factors for the short crops grown in 1747 and 1748. On August 30, 1747, Henry Callister wrote Charles Craven that, "We cannot buy tobacco quite so cheap as last year; there are more vessels in the country now than I ever knew at once, especially in the Choptank." By October, the situation had worsened, "European goods keep pouring in on us and all my neighbors outbid me. . . . I shall be obliged to follow them [although] I keep playing below as much as I can."[75] Callister naively held out the hope that peace would reestablish the trade on its former footing:

> We are glad to hear of a peace on almost any terms, for without it we can neither clothe our backs nor order our hopes; I hope that peace is entirely settled and . . . that tobacco will be worth something to the buyer here; I say to the buyer, for really the planter that has tobacco now to dispose of (of such there are few) makes a fine hand of it.[76]

Callister's situation, of course, only worsened with the announcement of peace. In 1749, British merchants dumped on the colonies a record £1,230,386 worth of goods, which they had been stockpiling throughout the war. The 1749 imports into the colonies constituted an increase of almost one-third above the £830,433 shipped in 1748. With the market so glutted with European goods, factors were in a very poor bargaining position when it came to buying tobacco. The Cunliffe agents in Maryland were experiencing the effects of an imbalance of payments that would recur periodically from the end of the Austrian War until the American Revolution, with only temporary respites during the nonimportation agreements.[77]

This then rather than the tobacco inspection act of 1747, is probably the major reason behind declining Cunliffe profits at Oxford after 1746. Fierce competition for limited crops probably drove prices so high that Robert Morris chose to substitute pig iron for tobacco in the cargoes he shipped home to Liverpool. Tobacco exports, although they were to recover slightly during the 1750s, never again reached the high levels they had enjoyed in the early 1740s. The depression of the late 1740s marked the end of an era of high profits for the Cunliffes in Maryland.

SEVEN

The death of Robert Morris, Sr. in 1750 conveniently marks the end of the first phase of Foster Cunliffe and Sons' business on the Eastern Shore of Maryland. Although the foundations of the trade, which the Cunliffes had once found profitable, were beginning to change in the last years of his agency, Robert Morris had served the firm with profit and distinction for over twelve years.

The manner of Morris's death was ironic in the extreme. He had been rowed out to greet the captain of the newly-arrived Cunliffe ship *Liverpool Merchant* and when returning to shore, while only a few yards away from the ship, he was wounded by the wadding of a gun which the captain had discharged in his honor. Gangrene soon set in and within six days, he died of fever and infection. Only forty years of age, Morris died possessed of an estate of several thousand pounds; his principal beneficiary was his son Robert Morris, Jr. (the future Secretary of Finance for the Continental Congress) who was then serving as an apprentice to Philadelphia merchant, Robert Greenway.[78]

Even while he was sitting beside Morris's deathbed, Henry Callister was scheming to win for himself the coveted post of chief factor for the Cunliffes at Oxford. Callister had long regarded himself as Morris's logical successor at Oxford, as he confided to his brother, "As to the head place here, it is a place of great profit indeed, and I, without a doubt, must expect to succeed to it." Callister was extremely jealous of the special privileges and perquisites that the Cunliffes allowed to their senior factors. Callister therefore sought to seize the opportunity of Morris's death to strike out for his own advancement.[79]

In order to ingratiate himself with his employers, Callister decided to inform the Cunliffes of the dimensions of the private business that Morris had kept up on his own, aside from his work for the Cunliffes. He drew their attention particularly to the partnership of Morris and John Hanmer with rival London merchant William Anderson in a store on the Tuckahoe River. Callister also insinuated that the Cunliffes had allowed Morris to grow too powerful through their own indulgence.

> Mr. R. M. died possessed of a good estate which I think became him very well; I thought I could see by what means he acquired it, by your particular indulgence in allowing him to ship tobacco in trade as much as thought fit, (which he did to some purpose) and you lately gave him a remarkable proof of that indulgence by admitting him partner in the *Oxford* for the Guinea trade.[80]

By admitting a factor into partnership with them, employers frequently sought to assure the factor's loyalty to their interests. Thus the Cunliffes may have sought to bind the talented Morris closer to them by granting special privileges and marks of favor.

As Callister suggests, this scheme may or may not have worked with Morris. Morris's personal account with the Cunliffes indicates that he was making almost £200 per annum on the special privileges that they allowed him, in addition to his regular salary of £60. Morris reinvested these earnings in an extensive private trade. At the time of his death in 1750, Robert Morris's account book indicates that he maintained private accounts with 14 British merchants (including some of the most famous names of the tobacco trade), 23 Marylanders, 7 merchants elsewhere in the colonies (mostly in Philadelphia), 2 West India firms and 1 merchant in Madeira.[81] Surely some of these interests inevitably conflicted with those of the Cunliffes.

Callister failed in his campaign to win for himself the post of chief factor at Oxford. In late 1750, John Hanmer, the former factor of the Cambridge store,

was appointed to the Oxford headquarters, while Henry Callister was transferred to "Townside," the Cunliffe store near the head of navigation on the Chester River. The Cunliffes at this time apparently considered cutting off their operations in Maryland entirely but eventually decided only to curtail their business somewhat by closing their store at the Head of the Wye.[82]

Competition on the Eastern Shore had greatly increased since the Cunliffes' entry into the trade there in the 1720s. Besides the continued presence of several large London merchant firms in the area, there were the recently opened stores of William Hopper and James Brown and Company (Glasgow merchants) on the Wye River, D. Hull (of Whitehaven) on the Chester River, "Mr. Hale" ("a west country factor") on Kent Island and independent merchants Jeremiah Nicols, Samuel Galloway and "Mr. Williamson" at Newtown.[83]

The numbers of ships arriving at Oxford belonging to rival companies provides a crude index of the increased competition that the Cunliffes were facing. From 1742–46, Cunliffe ships led the number of vessels arriving in Oxford with 13 entries in the port books. Their nearest competitors were Matthias and William Gale of Whitehaven (7 vessels), and their Liverpool rivals, the Gildarts (also 7 entries). From 1750–55, however, the Cunliffes placed only second with 14 vessels, while London merchant William Anderson led the fleet with 15. The Gales were third with 13 ships, while the Gildarts placed a distant fourth with 9.[84]

At the same time that competition was increasing, the cultivation of tobacco, the staple of the Cunliffes' trade, was beginning to decline on the Upper Eastern Shore. As early as the 1720s, wheat was being grown in Kent and Queen Anne counties as a major market crop. Merchants sometimes speculated in the new crop, as one of Callister's letters from 1752 indicates, "We cannot till then determine how to manage, for fear of overdoing one or the other [tobacco or wheat], either of which we can do, but the question is whether we can load all tobacco and drop the grain." Depending as they did on harvests elsewhere, the profits of the wheat trade were extremely precarious and it is not surprising that Callister preferred to load tobacco. By the late 1750s, however, grain agriculture was so firmly established on the Eastern Shore that the cultivation of tobacco was limited to Talbot County and Kent Island.[85]

Due to the rise of grain agriculture, trade with the West Indies began to play a more important role within Cunliffe business concerns during the 1750s. Ten years earlier, the West Indies trade had been a triangular affair for the Cunliffes, with British goods or slaves being sent to the Islands and exchanged for rum and molasses, which was then shipped to Maryland. Gradually during the 1750s, however, Cunliffe agents began to explore the possibilities of direct, reciprocal trade between Maryland and the West Indies. The Maryland-grown products of grain, timber and pork proved readily marketable in the Caribbean. In 1757, Henry Callister described a typical cargo to Robert Greenway, "My West India cargo will be a mixed one consisting of bread, flour, corn, two sets scantling and some other sorts of lumber." Not only did such cargoes help to offset declining tobacco exports from Oxford, but the West Indies also pro-

vided a valuable source of specie and bills of exchange for cash-poor colonial merchants.[86]

Grain was not only exported to the West Indies but was also sent directly to Lisbon, the Wine Islands and the Mediterranean. Aided by the strong British economic presence in the area, colonial exports to Southern Europe rose dramatically from £50-60,000 in the 1720s and 30s to £125-150,000 per annum during the 1750s. By 1760, Maryland alone was exporting nearly 150,000 bushels of wheat each year to Lisbon and the Mediterranean.[87] One of the Cunliffes' first ventures in the new trade was to send a ship to Lisbon which had the misfortune to arrive in the midst of the financial chaos caused by the great earthquake of 1756. Despite this initial failure the Cunliffes continued trading in the area and the increasing numbers of their ships clearing Oxford for the ports of Southern Europe provides a good indicator of the steady advance of grain agriculture on the Eastern Shore.[88]

In 1755, Henry Callister finally succeeded to the long-coveted head post at Oxford, when John Hanmer apparently resigned to begin trade on his own account. 1755 was hardly a propitious year for him to assume control over Cunliffe operations in Maryland. Hostilities began in the Ohio River valley in 1754 that precipitated a world-wide clash between the British and French colonial empires. By 1760 when the surrender of Montreal brought relative quite to the American phase of the Seven Years War, wartime economic conditions had brought the Cunliffe firm to the edge of ruin and had forced them to close off their trade with Maryland.[89]

Some of the principal losses came from the action of French privateers. The Cunliffes had received letters of marque for some of their more heavily armed merchantmen during the War of the Austrian Succession and had done quite well in privateering, but during the Seven Years War their losses greatly exceeded their gains. Callister's letters during the 1750s are filled with inquiries about the actions of French privateers. "Have you any account of the New York ship's arrival at Choptank," he once asked a correspondent, "I am informed the French play a bad game against us within our Capes. Is there a convoy?"[90]

Callister's anxiety at that time may have been increased by the fact that he had recently become part owner of a West India schooner. The wheel of fortune, however, turned against him in 1757 when he was informed that his schooner had been "taken into Martinico and never returned." From 1756 to 1762, the number of vessels engaged in the West India trade dropped from 60 to 30, or from 2000 to 1300 tons burthen. Because of the heavy losses to Maryland shipping and rumors of illegal trade with the French, the governor of Maryland ordered an embargo on the export of grain from 1756 to 1758.[91]

The action of French privateers became increasingly intense as the war dragged on. As fewer and fewer ships arrived safely in the Chesapeake, freight rates soared from £6-8 per ton in 1754 to £15-16 in 1759. Such high freight rates made it almost impossible to realize a profit from the sale of tobacco. Even a short supply of the crop in 1754 and 1755 failed to cause a lowering of the rates, as would have been usual under such conditions. The large crop of

1756 could be sold only in very small quantities and at low prices because of the scarcity of shipping. As tobacco prices finally reached their nadir in 1759–60, many merchants were tottering on the edge of bankruptcy.[92]

As tobacco became less and less profitable for both merchant and planter during the Seven Years War, Callister's employers began to pressure him to collect back debts. The Cunliffes had suggested that Callister begin collecting old debts as a way of financing his cargoes as early as 1756:

> When this letter reaches you, we hope you will have dispatched the *Cunliffe* and are setting about the purchase of Pork, Wheat, Indian Corn and Lumber suitable for a cargo to Jamaica such as was provided last year. This we expect to be done by old debts and old goods and that you will have very little occasion to make use of cash. . . .[93]

Although this must have seemed a reasonable request to the Cunliffes, this type of suggestion cost their factors untold effort and expense.

Debts had been high even during Robert Morris' agency. When Robert Morris balanced his account book in 1749, he listed 312,203 pounds of tobacco debts, or almost 7 percent of the total 4,404,919 pounds of tobacco he had handled for the Cunliffes since he began the account book in 1742.[94] By the middle 1750s, the situation had gotten much worse.

In their efforts to handle large volumes of tobacco, outport merchants were forced to extend credit to many planters whom other merchants would have considered bad risks. The number of civil suits for debts brought by merchants in Talbot County courts provides an indication of the degree to which outport merchants in particular had overextended themselves. In the years 1750–52, Foster Cunliffe and Sons brought 28 suits against 26 persons in Talbot County. Their Liverpool rivals James and Richard Gildart sued an equal number, whereas London consignment merchants Anthony Bacon and William Anderson found it necessary to sue only 12 and 10 persons respectively. The local planter-merchant Edward Lloyd III brought only 5 suits and Oxford merchant Samuel Chamberlaine, Esq. only one.[95]

Outport merchants were even more extended five years later. In the twelve month period from June 1756 to June 1757, the Cunliffes sued 39 persons. The Gildarts followed close behind with 36 suits, whereas William Anderson sued only 8 persons and Bacon only 4.[96] It is not surprising then that in November of that year we find Callister reporting that he "had so many irons in the fire this season: the courts, the craft, the grain, etc., etc.," that he would be unable to complete his inventory and list of outstanding debts as scheduled:

> It is not possible at present to assort, rate and arrange the debts outstanding according to their due merit, because there are so many of them now on the docket, and depending which we must run the rounds. . .from court to court before they are absolutely condemned.[97]

Callister now found occasion to regret the easy credit he had extended so readily in buying consignments.

Mounting debts and declining tobacco exports had been cutting sharply into the Cunliffes' profits. Thus when Foster Cunliffe died after a long illness in

1758, his two sons Sir Ellis and Robert seized the opportunity to close out their business in Maryland. Unfortunately all of Callister's correspondence for 1758 has been lost, but it is apparent from later letters that the sailing of the ship *Upton* in the summer of 1759 was intended by the Cunliffes to mark the formal close of business. Consequently, Jonathan Eccleston, their factor at Townside, placed an advertisement in the *Maryland Gazette* calling in all debts owed the Cunliffes and offering to sell "very cheap for ready money, tobacco or short credit" a quantity of European goods and furniture.[98] Later in the fall of the same year, a subsequent advertisement appeared announcing the auction of the Townside property, scheduled for March 1, 1759.

Surprisingly, Callister himself decided to purchase the property and on April 16, 1759, he wrote to inform Sir Ellis Cunliffe that he, in fact, had been the highest bidder. He also requested that he not be required to pay more than the second highest bidder, pleading that his own bid had far exceeded a reasonable amount. When the Cunliffes refused this request, Callister then proceeded to deduct a commission from the sale price for his service in arranging the auction (such a commission would have followed the usual practice had the purchaser been anyone other than Callister). The Cunliffes apparently found this too much to bear; they refused to grant the commission and reprimanded him sharply. Callister angrily resigned and the letter that he sent to the Cunliffes justifying his actions reveals much about the sensitive relationship between a factor and his employers:

> Our duty to our neighbors includes our duty to ourselves. . . . Is it not cruel to confine me in this situation to an interdependence on the drippings of a declining concern? . . . Seventeen years is a long servitude, enough to warp a man to his duty and submission . . . .
>
> You cannot say you have been free from jealousy and you must own my sensibility of this must give great uneasiness to your upright heart. I therefore acknowledge to you that it is a refreshing relief to me to be discharged of your business, notwithstanding the manner it is done in . . . .
>
> I would ask you with assurance whether you have not received more satisfaction from me than from any of my predecessors, . . . have I not with obstinacy persisted in perpetual jars and tumults as to render myself odious to those with whom I am obliged to spend the remainder of my days in order to compass your design of withdrawing your effects?[99]

The essence of their quarrel, however, was as Callister succinctly put it in another letter, "You think I am rich, and at your expense."[100] A factor, separated from his employers by miles of ocean, would have ample opportunity to either misrepresent accounts or misuse his employers' capital. The mutual trust that was so essential to their relationship had evaporated under the pressure of the poor business conditions of the late 1750s.

Eight

By August 1759, Henry Callister had established himself at Townside as an independent merchant trading on his own account; his experiences there provide a fitting postscript to the history of Foster Cunliffe and Sons in

Maryland. Soon after his arrival at his new home, Callister wrote a long letter to London merchant Anthony Bacon that deserves to be ranked among the classic documents of the Maryland tobacco trade and warrants inclusion here in its entirety:

> I have now the pleasure to inform you that I am at length settled upon my own land, at a place where we formerly made large purchases to tobacco; but years past, that branch declined in favour, to a great extent, of the grain trade, occasioned by our proximity to the noble market of Philadelphia. [Townside was only fifteen miles by cart trails from the small Delaware River port of Duck Creek] This last branch has suffered in its turn, by a moth, which some few years past greatly wasted and damaged the grain of the more southern parts, while the northern provinces remain as *yet* unhurt. This circumstance . . . has set all hands to planting, and thus the tobacco trade revives here.
>
> Messrs. Cunliffe closing the noble interest, they had formerly in this branch, had been no small motive to the planters running into farming; but, as there are no tobacco purchasers above Newtown [Chestertown], except those who come up to Georgetown, I expect in great measure to remove that motive and keep their hands in.
>
> Messrs. Cunliffe would not allow me to leave Oxford, nor have any considerable business for myself, whilst I had the winding up of their due; but as their effects would be continually lessening, my commission would be proportionately dwindling. This consideration, joined to my interest up here, where I have a plantation and fifteen hundred acres of land to look after, and my having bought their tenement, where they have heretofore purchased many thousands of hogsheads, made it necessary to resign. And accordingly, having made them as good a remittance as I could this year—upwards of three thousand pounds ster[lg]. in bills—I have resigned all my books, bonds, etc., to two of their apprentices without waiting for the profits I might get from what further sums I might remit this fall; which I presume they would not dispute with me, if I had inclined to do so, even though I should not have staid at Oxford to the damage of my own interest, without any advantage to theirs; for their effects are no more there than here. The preference they give Oxford is an errant mistake. . . .[101]

Callister's letter touches many points but two, in particular, are especially worth noting: the decline of the port of Oxford and his hopes for a revival in the tobacco trade. By the time of the American Revolution, the streets of Oxford were overgrown and cows wandered on the Strand where merchants had once unloaded their tobacco. But Oxford's decay was due largely to the failure of Callister's second prediction: the tobacco trade on the Eastern Shore never revived. The center of business moved northward away from Oxford to the wheat-growing area around Newtown.[102]

Despite his high hopes for a revival of tobacco planting in the area around Townside, Callister's business as an independent merchant led him to explore further the commercial possibilities of the grain trade along the routes he had helped to pioneer for the Cunliffes during the 1750s. Callister suffered heavy losses, however, in the convoy of 1760 and his trading ventures to the northern ports of Philadelphia, New York and Boston met with only modest success. He was constantly plagued with the problem of establishing credit in markets where he was a stranger to the trade.[103]

Business was so bad in December, 1760, that he considered shutting his shop for the winter. In July, the following year, his credit was dealt a severe blow when Anthony Bacon, with whom Callister had traded for over eighteen years, returned several of his bills of exchange. Despairing of "the visible decline of the trade wherein I am embarked," Callister offered his Townside property for rent in 1761. His business finally collapsed in 1762. Remarking that "All trade is at a standstill but that of lawyers and hogstealers," Callister listed "losses by land and water, in cattle and by mortality, by thieves, runaways, debtors, unfaithful servants, etc." that amounted to nearly £2000 sterling. On December 19, 1762, Callister lamented, "I have forever shut up shop and begin to look down to earth."[104]

In describing his situation as he filed for bankruptcy in 1763, Callister noted,

> My situation was fine, my credit fresh and flourishing, every view favourable. But the evil genius of the colonies set in. Every honest trader failed more or less, on my right hand and on my left hand; I floated with the stream and before I gained a penny, I had sunk about two thousand guineas. I paid off all my debts in Maryland, but never shall receive those due me. As soon as I perceived for certain that it was impossible for me to stand it, I invited my English creditors Anthony Bacon, Gilbert Franklin and Anthony Richardson and yet two years was wasted before I could obtain a composition. . . I almost stopped the mouth of one with goods to the amount of £1300 to £1500 sterling. . . . At length the powers came in and I resigned myself and my whole estate, real and personal; in consequence of my candor and integrity, they gave me a very humane composition, and agreed to acquit me on the security of a sum equal to about £500 guineas.[105]

Callister desperately tried to justify his failure in business both to himself and to others. To a fellow merchant, he wrote,

> Whatever the mob might think of me, this I am confident of, that it could never enter the mind of a person who knows me. . . that I who long had the disposal of £20,000 and upwards should abscond for the tenth part of that sum (which I believe my debts to amount to). . . .[106]

Not surprisingly, one of the principal explanations Callister seized upon was to blame his former employers,

> My obediance to their orders has in great measure contributed to my ill success in trade and I do not think that the most promising branch of trade would succeed in my hands where such odium is thrown upon me for suing such as they are pleased to call good men. . . , so that I may say I suffer for my integrity to them [the Cunliffes]. Having had the chief direction of their affairs, those who have acted under me here, even while I was at Oxford, have found means to turn the peoples resentment upon me and I have been treated behind my back and insolently to my face as an enemy to the Country.[107]

Thus Callister felt that his efforts to collect back debts for the Cunliffes, when they were closing out their Maryland concerns, had alienated him from the public.

The causes of Henry Callister's bankruptcy, however, were neither his fault nor that of his former employers. They were due to economic forces in Europe, far beyond his control. A panic swept over Great Britain in August 1761, when

news of Spain's joining the Family Compact reached London. By December of that year, Britain's principal securities had plummeted to extremely low levels and greatly-overextended merchants were frantically beginning to call in their debts in the colonies.[108]

News of the financial crisis was slow in reaching Maryland. War with Spain was not announced until April 1762. But by late in the year, when Callister was desperately looking for credit, every merchant in Maryland was being dunned by his English creditors. When the letters of Marylanders pleading for more time to pay their debts arrived in Britain in 1763, that nation was in the midst of an even greater financial crisis, this time prompted by the failure of key Amsterdam and Hamburg banking houses.

The impact of the second crisis in Maryland was alarming. In 1765, Callister noted that the real value of "land, slaves and all manner of property" had dropped nearly fifty percent since 1762. Benedict Calvert summed up the situation when he wrote, "I can venture to say that people in America were never in such a distressed situation as they are at present."[109] Thus Callister had not been alone; the credit crisis of 1763 had claimed as victims some of the greatest merchant houses in the colonies.

After his bankruptcy, Callister was a broken man. The Cunliffes tried to assist their former factor by attempting to secure his appointment as sheriff of Kent County but the waiting line was so long for such jobs that there was little hope of a vacancy for him during his lifetime. Instead Governor Horatio Sharpe appointed Callister a justice of the peace, but he resigned the position after only a year and retired to "Sandyhurst," his 500 acre farm, where he died sometime in 1766, a bitter and impoverished old man.[110]

The rise and fall of Henry Callister from apprentice to wealthy merchant to bankrupt is paradigmatic of the precarious nature of the tobacco trade. Profit in the trade hinged on a delicate balance between production, demand, and adequate shipping. And as we have already seen, an alteration in any one of these key variables could be disastrous for the merchant.

What was perhaps most frustrating for the factor was the way in which these variables, upon which his livelihood depended, were completely beyond his control. Glutted markets, scarce currency, lack of liquidity, excess competition and falling prices, were all problems over which the colonial merchant had very little influence. As the economic bonds between the colonies and Great Britain grew tighter and tighter, the really important decisions affecting trade and commerce were increasingly made in England. The smouldering dissatisfaction of colonial merchants with this system broke out into open resentment in the non-importation controversy, just a few months after Callister's death.[111]

Still further foreshadowing of the Revolutionary era can be detected in Callister's revealing references concerning the damaging influence of his having formerly been associated with a British merchant firm. Callister was insulted by the fact that the agents of British businessmen were spoken of "by the ill-fitting epithet of foreigners." Both this resentment and the sardonic mood of Callister's later years permeate a mock advertisement found among his papers,

> Imported by the subscriber, a native of the foreign dominion of Great Britain and agent for a true-born Englishman, who is in like manner a foreigner, as is easy to make appear in Talbot Courts.
>
> To say,
>
> A great variety of foreign goods and some foreign cash, to be distributed as usual, some little for ready money, some on trust for seven years and some till later, according as we shall agree. . . .[112]

As Callister's advertisement suggests, the issue of planter debts was at the heart of the charges of "British monopoly," "thralldom," and "vassalage," that were beginning to appear in the colonial press. The credit which the planters had once so readily accepted now seemed to them to be a means of exploitation. The burden of planter debts had become so enormous that the whole framework of the tobacco trade threatened to collapse beneath its weight. As Dr. Charles Carroll indicated in a letter to London merchant William Black,

> Unless you gentlemen at the head of the trade will so order and conduct it with respect to the interest of the people in the plantations, that they may live and be supported by their industry and remittance, it will fall out with ye as it did with the man in the fable who had a hen that laid golden eggs.[113]

Expansive credit, the particular contribution of the Scottish and outport merchants to the tobacco trade, now appeared to increase the dependence of the colonies on Great Britain at a time when such developments would be more and more likely to be presented. The wheel had come full circle; the business practices of the Scottish and outport merchants, that had once seemed so beneficial to credit-hungry planters, now looked like the chains of "British thralldom."

References

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2. The principal primary sources for this reconstruction of the history of the Cunliffe firm are: the Henry Callister Papers, Maryland Diocesan Library on deposit at the Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore, Md.; the Robert Morris, Sr. Account Book, Ledger B, Dorchester Circuit Court Records, Hall of Records, Annapolis, Md.; Oxford Port of Entry Books, 1742–1746, and Patuxent Naval District Entry Books, 1745–1757, both at the Hall of Records; and, the Oxford Port of Entry Books, 1759–1773, Maryland Historical Society.
3. Henry Callister [hereinafter abbreviated H.C.] to Ellis Cunliffe and Company, July 31, 1759, Callister Papers; Robert Craig and Rupert Jarvis, *Liverpool Registry of Merchant Ships* (Manchester: Chetham Society, 1967), xxxvii; statistics for annual exports are compiled from the Oxford Port of Entry Books and the Patuxent Naval District Entry Books listed above.
4. Arthur Pearce Middleton, *Tobacco Coast: A Maritime History of the Chesapeake Bay in the Colonial Era* (Newport News: Mariners' Museum, 1953), p. 105; Frances Norton Mason, *John Norton and Sons* (New York: Augustus M. Kelly, Publishers, 1968), pp. xv, xvii–xviii.
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D.C.: Carnegie Institution, 1933), I, 418; James Alfred Haw, "Politics in Revolutionary Maryland, 1753-1788," (Ph.D. diss., University of Virginia, 1972), p. 10.

6. Price, "Economic Growth," p. 508; *France and the Chesapeake*, I: 663.
7. Middleton, *Tobacco Coast*, p. 107; Price, "Economic Growth," p. 509.
8. Price, *France and the Chesapeake*, 1: 663-65.
9. Price, *France and the Chesapeake*, 1: 663.
10. Price, *France and the Chesapeake*, 1: 594; George Chandler, *Liverpool Shipping: A Short History* (London: Phoenix House, 1960), p. 27.
11. Joseph Foster, *Pedigrees of the County Families: Lancashire* (London: Head, Hole and Company, 1873), n.p. (I am indebted to Jane Foster Tucker for this reference.); J. A. Picton, *Memorials of Liverpool* (London: Longmans, Green and Company, 1875), p. 185; Thomas Heywood, *Norris Papers* (Manchester: Chetham Society, 1846), pp. iv, 154-55.
12. H. Peet, "Liverpool in the Reign of Queen Anne," *Transactions of the Historical Society of Lancashire and Cheshire*, 59 (1908), p. 10; Picton, *Memorials*, p. 185; William Enfield, *History of Liverpool*, (London: Joseph Johnson, 1774), pp. 43, 49, 52.
13. Henry Smithers, *Liverpool, Its Statistics, Commerce and Institutions* (Liverpool: Thomas Kaye, 1825), p. 413. The Liverpool Whigs were split between factions of the Cunliffes and the Gildarts; the Gildarts had won in 1734, but the Cunliffes triumphed in 1754. Picton, *Memorials*, p. 185.
14. Picton, *Memorials*, p. 186; T. S. Willan, *The Navigation of the River Weaver in the Eighteenth Century* (Manchester: Chetham Society, 1951), passim.
15. Port Books, Port of Chester (including the member ports of Conway, Beaumaris, Liverpool, Caernavon, the port of Preston and the creek of Poulton), 1725, Public Record Office, Exchequer 190/1406/3; Naval Officers Returns, Rappahannock River District, (Ships Entered), 1726, P.R.O. Customs Office 5/1442.f7, both available on microfilm as part of the Virginia Colonial Records Project, Alderman Library, Charlottesville, Va.
16. Virginia Naval Officers Returns, Rappahannock District, 1735-53, P.R.O. C.O. 5/1444; South Potomac District, 1735-53, P.R.O. C.O. 5/1445.
17. Virginia Naval Officers Returns, as above; Price, *France and the Chesapeake*, I: 538n., 563, 594, 600.
18. The earliest record of the Cunliffes in Maryland is "the appointment of Edward Markland as the company attorney" for Talbot County in 1721. Jane Foster Tucker, *A Port of Entry, Oxford, Md.* (Easton: Economy Printing Company, [1968] 1969), p. 10. Mrs. Tucker is probably referring to a legal document conferring on Markland the "power of attorney" to act as a factor on the Cunliffes' behalf. Robert Morris presented a similar document to the Talbot County Court on December 3, 1747. That document is now in the manuscript collections of the Maryland Room, Talbot County Free Library, Easton, Md.
19. [Jeremiah Banning], *Log and Will of Jeremiah Banning* (New York; W. F. Austin, 1932), n.p.; Tucker, *Port of Entry*, p. 11; James S. Shepherd, "Robert Morris Factor," *Maryland Original Research Society*, Bulletin #3 (1913), p. 121; [Maryland Society of Pennsylvania], *Robert Morris, Sr., Father of the Financier of the American Revolution*, [Philadelphia: Chilton Company, 1960], p. 5; Oswald Tilghman, *History of Talbot County, Md., 1661-1861*, 2 vols. (Baltimore: Williams and Wilkins Company, 1915), I: 66-68. See also Robert Morris, Sr., will, photocopy on display, Oxford Town Museum, Oxford, Md.
20. Banning, *Log*, n.p.
21. Vaughan Brown, *Shipping in the Port of Annapolis, 1748-75* (Annapolis: U.S. Naval Institute, 1965), p. 28; Ronald Hoffman, *A Spirit of Dissension: Economics, Politics and the Revolution in Maryland* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1973), pp. 10-12.
22. Banning, *Log*, n.p.
23. Tucker, *Port of Entry*, p. 10; Charles B. Clark (ed.), *The Eastern Shore of Maryland and Virginia* (New York: Lewis Historical Publishing Company, 1950), p. 296.
24. "Inventory of the Oxford Store, 1756," Callister Papers.
25. Soltow, "Scottish Traders," p. 88.
26. Clark, *Eastern Shore*, p. 296.
27. Soltow, "Scottish Traders," pp. 86-87; Robert Morris, Sr. Account Book.
28. Lawrence C. Wroth, "A Maryland Merchant and his Friends in 1750," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 7 (1911): 217. Callister steadily supplemented his income and the privileges allowed him by the Cunliffes by consigning tobacco to other rival merchants. The Cunliffes probably looked the other way whenever they found evidence of such private trade. See H.C. to Anthony Bacon, February 11, 1745, Callister Papers.
29. H.C. to William Whitfield, August 1, 1743, Callister Papers.

30. *Ibid.*
31. H.C. to Foster Cunliffe and Sons [hereinafter abbreviated F.C.&S.], August 6, 1747, Callister Papers.
32. H.C. to Robert Morris, August 5, 1747, Callister Papers. Kinship relations and old friendships were the heart of the consignment business. Anthony Bacon knew a wide circle of Marylanders, having first come to the province as a sea captain and then having kept a store at Dover on the Choptank until he returned to England in 1739 or 1740. For Bacon's later career as merchant and government contractor, see Sir Lewis Namier, "Anthony Bacon MP, an Eighteenth Century Merchant," *Journal of Economic and Business History,* 2 (1929): 20–70; and, Price, *France and the Chesapeake,* I: 596–97. No study has as yet been completed on William Anderson, a powerful London merchant and a major holder of the British debt in Maryland at the time of the Revolution. He also began as a sea captain in the trade. Anderson eventually was not only a friend of the Calverts, but also through his brother-in-law James Hollyday, a member of the Lloyd family connection.
33. The mind-set of these planter-merchants is aptly caught in Aubrey C. Land, "Economic Behavior in a Planting Society: The Eighteenth Century Chesapeake," *Journal of Southern History,* 33 (1967): 469–85.
34. H.C. to Robert Morris, August 5, 1747, Callister Papers.
35. H.C. to William Murray, April 6, 1748, Callister Papers.
36. For buying consignments, see Calvin Brewster Coulter, Jr., "The Virginia Merchant," (Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 1944), p. 223. Morris is cited in Clark, *Eastern Shore,* p. 298.
37. H.C. to John Jackson, February 11, 1762, Callister Papers.
38. H.C. to Charles Goldsborough, May 7, 1759, Callister Papers.
39. H.C. to Robert Morris, April 17, 1748, Callister Papers.
40. Concerning foreclosure: H.C. to John Comegys, May 13, 1759, Callister Papers. Concerning debtors: H.C. to Ellis Cunliffe and Company, September 8, 1765; Coulter, "Virginia Merchant," p. 237; Philip Alexander Bruce, *Economic History of Virginia in the Seventeenth Century,* 2 vols. (New York: MacMillan Company, 1895) I: 371; H.C. to F.C.&S., July 30, 1750, Callister Papers.
41. Middleton, *Tobacco Coast,* p. 108; "Calculation of the Cost of 100 hhds. of Tobacco Ready for Shipping, 1745," Callister Papers.
42. Clark, *Eastern Shore,* p. 287.
43. H.C. to F.C.&S., August 1, 1747, Callister Papers.
44. Soltow, "Scottish Traders," p. 88; Gray, *Agriculture,* I: 427; Mason, *John Norton,* p. xiv.
45. H.C. to Charles Craven, December 28, 1747, Callister Papers.
46. Data on Cunliffe exports is based on Oxford Port of Entry Books and the Patuxent Naval District Entry Books. The estimated commercial statistics for Maryland at that time are from Haw, "Politics," pp. 8, 14.
47. Liverpool manufacturers are listed in Coulter, "Virginia Merchant," p. 77.
48. The proper identification of Isle of May salt remains a puzzle. The Isle of May is a tiny islet in the Firth of Fourth, only one mile in length and principally inhabited by seagulls. It is highly unlikely that the Cunliffes would have ranged so far afield for a commodity that they could obtain in nearby Cheshire. It is therefore likely that "Isle of May salt" is a generic term for a particular type or grade of salt.
49. F. E. Hyde, *Liverpool and the Mersey* (Newton Abbot: David and Charles, 1971), p. 27; Smithers, *Statistics,* p. 85; Willan, *Weaver,* pp. 3, 49; T. C. Barker, "Lancashire Coal, Cheshire Salt, and the Rise of Liverpool," *Transactions of the Historical Society of Lancashire and Cheshire,* 103 (1951), pp. 83–101.
50. Virginia Naval Officers Returns, South Potomac District, P.R.O. C.O. 5/1445; Oxford Port of Entry Books; Patuxent Naval District Entry Books. By the late eighteenth century Liverpool had become the chief slaving port in England.
51. Robert Morris, Sr. Account Book.
52. Oxford Port of Entry Books; Patuxent Naval District Entry Books; Tucker, *Port of Entry,* p. 12; Coulter, "Virginia Merchant," p. 91; Paul H. Giddens, "Trade and Industry in Colonial Maryland," *Journal of Economic and Business History,* 4 (1932), p. 527. For the Acadians, see Samuel Chamberlaine, Esq. to H.C., n.d., Maryland Room, Talbot County Free Library; and, Edward Lloyd to James Hollyday II, December 9, 1755, Lloyd Papers, Maryland Historical Society.
53. Oxford Port of Entry Books, Patuxent Naval District Entry Books. The essential components of the West India trade are outlined in Richard Pares, *Yankees and Creoles* (Cam-

bridge: Harvard University Press, 1956). Other useful insights are provided in William D. Houlette, "Rum Trading in the American Colonies before 1763," *Journal of American History*, 28 (1934): 129–52; and, Gilman M. Ostrander, "The Colonial Molasses Trade," *Agricultural History*, 30 (1956): 77–84.

54. Gray, *Agriculture*, I: 227.
55. H.C. to F.C.&S., August 13, 1744, Callister Papers.
56. Gray, *Agriculture*, I: 228.
57. Middleton, *Tobacco Coast*, pp. 118–20; Coulter, "Virginia Merchant," p. 29.
58. Cited in Gray, *Agriculture*, I: 229.
59. "Extract of a Letter from a Merchant in London to His Friend Here," *Maryland Gazette*, April 21, 1747.
60. H.C. to F.C.&S., August 13, 1744, Callister Papers.
61. H.C. to F.C.&S., July 10, 1745, Callister Papers.
62. H.C. to Robert Morris, July 5, 1747, Callister Papers.
63. H.C. to Charles Craven, August 13, 1747, Callister Papers; William Anderson to James Hollyday, February 16, 1749, Hollyday Papers, Maryland Historical Society; Vertrees J. Wyckoff, "Tobacco Regulation in Colonial Maryland," *Johns Hopkins University Studies in History and Political Science*, New Series, 22 (extra volumes), p. 177.
64. Middleton, *Tobacco Coast*, p. 94; "Letter from an Eastern Shore Factor," *Maryland Gazette*, June 2, 1747. The letter is ascribed to Morris because the "Eastern Shore Factor" 1.) claims residence in Maryland for ten years, (Morris had arrived in 1738), 2.) estimates his annual export at 600–1000 hhds. per annum (a good approximation of the Cunliffe crop), and 3.) accurately describes in convincing detail the private inspection system instituted by Morris.
65. "Letter from a Planter," *Maryland Gazette*, June 23 and 30, 1747. Morris publicly replied to "Planter" in the pages of the *Gazette* on July 14, 1747 and received further support from a writer named "Townside" on July 28. ("Townside" was the name of the Cunliffe factory at the head of the Chester River.)
66. H.C. to F.C.&S., July 9, 1751, Callister Papers; William Anderson to James Hollyday 1, September 3, 1750, Hollyday Papers.
67. H.C. to F.C.&S., August 1, 1746, Callister Papers.
68. H.C. to F.C.&S., July 9, 1751, Callister Papers.
69. H.C. to F.C.&S., August 6, 1746, Callister Papers.
70. On the merit of the inspection law, see Barker, *Background*, p. 102; and Gray, *Agriculture*, I; 226.
71. The most important single work on the supply of shipping and the tobacco trade is: John M. Hemphill, "Freight Rates in the Maryland Tobacco Trade," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 54 (1959): 36–60. H.C. to F.C.&S., August 13, 1744; H.C. to F.C.&S., November 28, 1744, Callister Papers.
72. Middleton, *Tobacco Coast*, p. 300.
73. H.C. to F.C.&S., May 4, 1746, Callister Papers.
74. Dr. Charles Carroll to William Black, "Extracts from the Letterbook of Dr. Charles Carroll of Annapolis," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 22 (1927): 371.
75. H.C. to Charles Craven, August 30, 1747; H.C. to F.C.&S., October 14, 1747, Callister Papers.
76. H.C. to Robert Whitfield, August 4, 1748, Callister Papers.
77. Marc Egnal and Joseph Ernst, "An Economic Interpretation of the Revolution," *William and Mary Quarterly*, Third Series, 29 (1972): 15; James F. Shepherd and Gary M. Walton, *Shipping, Maritime Trade and the Economic Development of North America* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972), pp. 37–38. The statistics used here are taken from Shepherd and Walton but the interpretation of them follows Ernst and Egnal. Shepherd and Walter believe that the imbalance of payments between England and America was offset by a favorable balance of trade with Scotland, Southern Europe and the West Indies, as well as by British expenditures within the colonies themselves. *Ibid.*, pp. 42–43.
78. *Maryland Gazette*, July 18, 1750; and, Robert Morris, Sr. will, Oxford Town Museum.
79. The deathbed scene is described in H.C. to Robert Morris, Jr., December 11, 1764. For Callister's ambitions, see H.C. to Ewan Callister, September 21, 1746, Callister Papers.
80. H.C. to F.C.&S., October 4, 1750, Callister Papers.
81. Robert Morris, Sr. Account Book.
82. H.C. to F.C.&S., July 30, 1750, Callister Papers.
83. *Ibid.*

84. Oxford Port of Entry Books; Patuxent Naval District Entry Books.
85. Gray, *Agriculture,* I: 225; H.C. to F.C.&S., August 7, 1752, Callister Papers. Hoffman, *Dissension,* p. 3; Haw, "Politics," p. 9.
86. H.C. to R. Greenway, April 17, 1757, Callister Papers; Shepherd and Walton, *Shipping,* p. 42.
87. *Ibid.,* p. 41; Giddens, "Trade," p. 524.
88. Banning, *Log,* n.p.; Patuxent Naval District Entry Books.
89. Tilghman, *Talbot,* I: 91.
90. H.C. to Captain Benjamin Bell, September 2, 1760; H.C. to Mr. Green, November 12, 1759.
91. Clark, *Eastern Shore,* p. 300; Walker, Winter and Entwistle to H.C., September 30, 1757, Callister Papers; Giddens, "Trade," pp. 525, 531.
92. Hemphill, "Freight Rates," pp. 42, 45; Giddens, "Trade," p. 517.
93. F.C.&S. to H.C., September 29, 1756, Callister Papers.
94. Robert Morris, Sr. Account Book.
95. Talbot County Circuit Court, "Civil Judgments," 1750–59.
96. *Ibid.*
97. H.C. to F.C.&S., November 12, 1756, Callister Papers.
98. *Maryland Gazette,* May 29, 1758.
99. H.C. to Ellis Cunliffe and Company, July 31, 1759, Callister Papers.
100. H.C. to Ellis Cunliffe and Company, March 24, 1760, Callister Papers.
101. H.C. to Messrs. Bacon and Company, August 20, 1759, transcription from the Goldsborough Papers, Myrtle Grove Plantation, Md. found in Scharf Papers, Maryland Historical Society. I am indebted to Edward C. Papenfuse, Jr. for this reference.
102. Banning, *Log,* n.p.; Hoffman, *Dissension,* p. 12.
103. H.C. to N. White, July 22, 1760; H.C. to H. White, September 30, 1760, Callister Papers.
104. H.C. to Captain Benjamin Bell, July 11, 1760; H.C. to Horatio Sharpe, August 15, 1761; H.C. to Ewan Callister, September 20, 1762, Callister Papers; Clark, *Eastern Shore,* p. 300.
105. Cited in Clark, *Eastern Shore,* p. 300.
106. H.C. to Mr. McLachlan, September 30, 1763, Callister Papers.
107. *Ibid.*
108. Thomas Southcliffe Ashton, *Economic Fluctuation in England, 1700–1800* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1959), p. 124.
109. News of the war arrives: *Maryland Gazette,* April 8, 1762. Britain's credit crisis of 1763; Ashton, *Fluctuations,* pp. 124–27. News of the 1763 crisis arrives in Maryland: *Maryland Gazette,* November 10, 1763 and "Letter from London," *Maryland Gazette,* January 12, 1764.
110. H.C. to John Rideout, n.d., Callister Papers; Clark, *Eastern Shore,* p. 300.
111. The lack of American merchants' control over the variables of trade is a significant theme in Ernst and Egnal, "Economic Interpretation," p. 20.
112. Satiric advertisement, n.d., Callister Papers.
113. Barker, *Background,* p. 278; Charles Carroll to William Black, "Carroll Letterbooks," p. 372. The question of planter debt and its involvement in the American Revolution is a much controverted issue: Lawrence H. Gipson, "Virginia Planter Debts Before the American Revolution," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography,* 69 (1961): 259–77; Thad W. Tate, "The Coming of the Revolution in Virginia: Britain's Challege to Virginia's Ruling Class, 1763–1776," *William and Mary Quarterly,* Third Series, 19 (1962): 323–343; Emory G. Evans, "Planter Indebtedness and the Coming of the Revolution in Virginia, *Ibid.,* 19 (1962): 493–510; and, Evans, "Private Indebtedness and the Revolution in Virginia, 1776–1796," *Ibid.,* 28 (1971): 349–74; and most recently, Tommy R. Thompson, "Personal Indebtedness and the American Revolution in Maryland, *Maryland Historical Magazine,* 73 (1978): 13–29.

SIDELIGHTS

A Bibliography of Articles, Books, and Dissertations on Maryland History, 1977

RICHARD J. COX

THERE ARE SEVERAL SUBSTANTIAL CHANGES IN THE FORMAT OF THIS ANNUAL bibliography, the fourth of this series. Dissertations, starting with this bibliography and building on the recent published list covering 1970–1976, now will be included. Genealogical works will be limited to only those of broad importance such as compilations of census and newspaper records. Genealogical articles and other works will be covered in the new *Maryland Magazine of Genealogy*. Researchers should also consult the review sections of the *Maryland Genealogical Society Bulletin*.

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Mr. Cox is Records Management Officer for the City of Baltimore.

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BOOK REVIEWS

The Green Spring Valley—Its History and Heritage. By Dawn F. Thomas and Robert Barnes. (Baltimore, Md.: Maryland Historical Society. 1978. Pp. Vol. I, vi, 448; Vol. II, v, 154. $35.00).

The Green Spring Valley—Its History and Heritage is a two volume study of some of the loveliest country in Maryland which has retained its rural character from its early days as a 17th century settlement to the present.

Geographically, the Green Spring Valley begins at the intersection of Reisterstown Road and Old Court Road. It follows the Reisterstown Road out to St. Thomas' Lane where it goes east to Garrison Forrest Road. The boundary continues on to Falls, goes south to meet Old Court, and follows Old Court back to Reisterstown Road.

This study of the Green Spring Valley is divided into three parts. Included in Volume I is Part I a history, and Part II some informal portraits of about forty houses in the Valley. Volume II is comprised of the genealogies of those families to whom land was granted between 1695 and 1800 and who remained in the Valley for several generations.

The history of the Green Spring Valley begins three centuries ago when this area was an uncharted and unexplored wilderness. In the late 1600s only wandering tribes of Indians used the territory as a hunting ground and temporary campsite. Trails made by them eventually became some of the first roads in the area.

Surveys for land grants took place after the white man arrived on Maryland shores and these land grants include names such as Wester Ogle, Owings' Traverse, Garrison, Howard's Square—names which are still found in the area today.

The early settlers of the Valley are listed alphabetically with the sole exception of John Oldton, probably the first owner of land in the Green Spring Valley and so listed first. Other settlers listed include Christopher Carnan, Captain John Cockey, Thomas Cradock, Dr. William Lyon, Samuel Owings, and Christopher Randall. Where available, biographical material is included about the pioneers of the Valley.

The economic history of the Green Spring Valley is traced from the development of roads by the many taverns, inns and hotels which dotted the area. Communication ranged from the use of the *Gazette* and other early newspaper which published lists of unclaimed letters to the use of a servant to carry letters from one plantation to another.

While the Valley was best suited to agriculture, the abundant water supply provided power for mills and many of these dotted the countryside by 1800. Both Samuel Owings and Dr. Lyon had mills on their properties and even the youngest mill in the Valley—the Rockland Mill—was established between 1800 and 1810.

This interesting history of the Valley goes on to discuss prominent Valley residents in politics through the years. Men from the Valley were active in every war in which our country engaged, and served on both sides during the Civil War.

The churches in the Green Spring Valley date back to the mid-18th century when St. Thomas' Church was completed and the Reverend Thomas Cradock appointed clergyman. Henry Sater established Sater's Baptist Church in 1742 and other churches were to follow. Valley schools, both public and private, are fully discussed and the final chapter in Part I, the history, is entitled "The Horse and the Hound."

There is a wealth of historical data offered in the section of *The Green Spring Valley* with photographs which enhance the written word. The facts are well documented with sources listed in the notes, but more important, the history is readable and vibrant, and shows the author's enthusiasm for the Valley.

Part II, called Historic Houses, is a study of the houses in the Valley constructed before the Civil War with mention of a few later houses. The houses are listed alphabetically both in the text and in notes at the back of the book. The history of houses emerges from the history of the men and women who lived in them, and this section of the book is filled with personal stories of Valley residents. Both the homes and the people who lived in them seem to come alive under the author's pen.

Volume II of *The Green Spring Valley* is made up of genealogies of Valley families who were land owners between 1695 and 1800, and who remained in the Valley for several generations. Where available pictures of these people are included to add color to the thorough and careful compilation of facts. This work by Robert Barnes is a natural complement to the first volume by Dawn F. Thomas.

As an historical research, *The Green Spring Valley* is clearly indexed for easy location of specific facts. The style of the work is interesting and readable and the use of many illustrations further serves to bring life to the people who have lived in the Valley during the past three centuries.

Anyone interested in the history of Maryland—and in particular, the Green Spring Valley—cannot help but enjoy this work. The book is historically accurate and is also a vibrant, living story of both the social and architectural growth of this small, well to do community in Baltimore County.

Pikesville, Maryland BERYL FRANK

Poverty in a Land of Plenty: Tenancy in Eighteenth Century Maryland. By Gregory A. Stiverson. (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1977, Pp. 187. $12.00.)

When Frederick, Lord Baltimore, decided in the mid-1760s to sell his twenty-three manors he unwittingly generated a set of documents unique among early Maryland records. These documents, the resurveys of proprietary manors, provide an indispensable starting point for this valuable study, *Poverty in a Land of Plenty*, which takes a place of honor among the publications that are giving early Maryland history a new look. Future students may well find Dr. Stiverson's volume a model or a guide for combining the virtues of exacting monographic research on social and economic themes with the sturdy framework of institutional history. The author does just this in a novel—or at least unexpected—way. Only the opening and closing chapters treat the proprietary manor in the traditional mode of institutional history. Three meaty chapters between investigate its bearings on society and the economy, or more accurately the interplay between institution and human context.

Clearly the author aims chiefly at presenting a full accurate account of the conditions of tenant life. He selects eight of the twenty-three proprietary manors for evidence to build up chapters on landholding, housing, and husbandry of the leaseholders. His findings in each chapter are congruent with the tentative picture that has been emerging from bits of research during the past fifteen years: tenant holdings of modest dimensions (100 to 150 acres) that supported the meagre lifestyle shown in inventories of personal estates; dwellings and outbuildings that sufficed, but barely sufficed, for housing large families and for storing crops; husbandry bound to the strongly entrenched tobacco staple as the cash crop and maize as the subsistence crop, both of them demanding enough to limit agricultural diversification and accumulation of capital that could have freed tenants from shackles that held them at the very bottom of the economic scale.

But where others have surmised or hypothesized from scanty samples Dr. Stiverson has analyzed the full documentary evidence from eight manors dispersed over southern Maryland, the Eastern Shore, the north and the west. His carefully quantified findings vividly present the wealth of detail lacking in more summary or impressionistic accounts: crop sizes, quality of soil, exact dimensions of dwellings and outbuildings, type of construction, length of leases, sizes of families, precise number of orchard trees, and so on through the array of hard data that offer a realistic picture of the tenant's condition. He prepares his readers to accept generalizations that follow on opportunities, or lack of them, for personal advancement. And in his peopling of the Maryland scene he has compounded an antidote to elitist perspective that has in the past colored the writing of Maryland colonial history.

A final chapter, "The Sale of the Proprietary Manors," would bring a traditional institutional history to a close with appropriate details of the dissolution of the manor. But this is not the usual institutional history. The author insists on transcending the what, when, and how to another plane where emphasis is on the question, with what consequences? Here he deals with dislocation of tenants, speculative purchases, and the decline of tenancy in Maryland. An Appendix, which summarizes in tabular form five categories of data from the state assessment of 1783, serves as a grid for quantitative comparisons between tenants and the freeholding element of colony and state.

Poverty in a Land of Plenty is a judicious and finely wrought work that deserves compliments from a reviewer for many merits. Two demand explicit mention. First, the writing, commendably free from the jargon that disfigures the prose of many quantitative studies, makes this one accessible to a wider audience. Secondly, with becoming modesty the author stays within his evidence, never claiming too much. Informed readers may judge that he could have, with justification, claimed even more.

University of Georgia AUBREY C. LAND

The Lawyer's Round Table of Baltimore and Its Charter Members. By H. H. Walker Lewis. (Baltimore: The Maryland Historical Society, 1978. Pp. iii, 86. $7.50.)

In remembrance of things past, Mr. Walker Lewis has over the years shown himself to be without peer among Maryland lawyers. In this little volume he has examined the history of the law clubs of Baltimore, which appear to have flourished to a greater degree than similar organizations elsewhere. He has given special attention to the Lawyers' Round Table, which was organized in 1911 by Judge Alfred S. Niles, who invited 24 men to become charter members. Mr. Lewis gives us sketches of each of these men and, in so doing, manages to supply glimpses of their predecessors and professional mentors. Thus, such illustrious names as Severn Teackle Wallis, John K. Cowen, Charles E. Phelps, Charles Marshall and Randolph Barton, Sr., all of whom adorned the Maryland bar through the latter half of the nineteenth century, are noted in the author's characteristic style, which combines acute psychological insight and entertaining anecdotes illustrating the human foibles of his subjects.

The charter members of the Round Table were an extraordinarily varied group. They included several who attained national reputations as judges, such as Carroll T. Bond, John C. Rose and Morris A. Soper, and text writers whose works gained national recognition, such as Arthur W. Machen, Joseph C. France and Westel W. Willoughby, as well as men whose reputations were primarily local. Doubtless, the best known nationally was Albert Cabell Ritchie, four times Governor of Maryland, whose candidacy for the Democratic nomination for the presidency of the United States in 1932 was suf-

ficiently formidable to induce Franklin D. Roosevelt to offer him the vice-presidency, which he declined.

Notable among the members were those who under the leadership of Severn Teackle Wallis and John K. Cowen had fought the successful battle for political reform, which occupied the attention of the entire State for the period from the "New Judges" movement in 1882 to the end of the century. Among these were Roger W. Cull, William L. Marbury, Sr., Judge Rose, Charles Morris Howard and Judge Niles himself, each of whom had gained local renown in those tempestuous campaigns which broke the hold of the corrupt political machine which had dominated State politics and, to a degree, the State judiciary from 1870 to 1895. Many others were colorful "characters," such as John Hinkley, Oscar Leser, William Lee Rawls and the incomparable Eugene O'Dunne. In a class by himself was John Phelps, a scholar and linguist who enthusiastically explored the history of Chinese tongs and other esoteric subjects but devoted little attention to the practice of law.

The fact which the reader of these sketches finds most impressive is that each and every one of these lawyers were men who did not hesitate to act in accordance with their own convictions. Not one of them appeared to feel the need to conform to social pressures. All were men of courage who developed to the highest degree their own individualities. Those who wish to understand the ascendancy which the legal profession achieved in this country during the early part of the twentieth century may find the answer in these pages. Certainly every lawyer should rejoice in this revelation of his professional heritage.

Baltimore, Maryland WILLIAM L. MARBURY

The Republic's Private Navy: The American Privateering Business as Practiced by Baltimore During the War of 1812. By Jerome R. Garitee. (Middletown, Ct.: Wesleyan University Press, 1977. Pp. xx, 250. Appendices, bibliography, index. Hardcover. $17.50.)

Once in a while a truly significant work happens along that combines fine scholarship with rare literary grace, and that proves delightful to read and reread. *The Republic's Private Navy* is just such a volume. Clearly a labor of love, Professor Garitee has written a model monograph that combines the fascinating story of the exploits of Baltimore's privateersmen during America's Second War of Independence with—and for the first time—the background information about the investors and shipbuilders who made privateering possible. Garitee's study clearly transcends the previous work on the subject by Howard I. Chapelle, George Coggeshall, Charles Wye Kendall, James G. Lydon, and Francis R. Stark.

By the same token, this is a study of the spirit that was Baltimore; a spirit of incredible enterprise and an uncannily correct instinct for the main chance. That spirit underpinned the rise of the town from a tiny village in the mid-eighteenth-century to the third largest American city by the War of 1812; and the merchants, sailors, and shipbuilders who built the town constituted the nucleus of Baltimore's privateering effort during the war. Garitee identifies each one of them—a group totalling 200—in a series of appendices where he divides them into active, moderate, and marginal investors, depending upon the frequency of their investment in privateering expeditions. Of the active elite—those investing in four or more enterprises—Garitee says: "The fifty active investors dominated every aspect of urban life in early nineteenth-century Baltimore. Their names were associated with every social, political, entrepreneurial,

charitable, and military organization and function" (p. 239). And he demonstrates this assertion.

Another valuable contribution that Garitee makes is to have captured the community effort behind Baltimore's privateering enterprises. This is the finest discussion in print of the structure and function of privateering. Garitee provides us with information about the construction, the equipping, the financing, the staffing, and even the sailing of Baltimore's privateers. No comparable study exists that elaborates the infrastructure of privateering so exhaustively or relates it to its local and historical context so thoroughly. Vessel design, entrepreneurial and nautical expertise, and in-port preparation are treated in the best traditions of social history. To a certain extent, this is possible because Baltimore was, far-and-away, the leading American port for outfitting privateers during the War of 1812, thus providing Garitee with much material to draw upon; nevertheless, he deserves credit for mining these sources (in addition to 31 pp. of appendices and 10 pp. of bibliography, his citations to references number a stupendous 1,173) both exhaustively and imaginatively.

In addition to its value as a study of local history, Garitee captures the institution of privateering at its zenith; for never again did privately armed vessels play so prominent a role in a major war. Various reasons account for the atrophy of this institution following the War of 1812—and Garitee discusses all of them—so that we have here a study of privateering at the peak of its historical sophistication. And this, too, adds to the completeness of the study. Most readers of this *Magazine* should appreciate the wealth of detail and finely told story of privateering in Baltimore.

Maryland Historical Society GARY L. BROWNE

American Forts: Architectural Form and Function. By Willard B. Robinson. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1977. Pp. XIII, 229. $15.00.)

Willard B. Robinson, professor of architecture and museum curator at Texas Tech University, has written and compiled an excellent study of American forts—"the first known architectural history of fortifications in the New World," according to the publisher. Many of the volume's more than one hundred original drawings and paintings have never been published previously. The book will be of inestimable value to scholars and laymen alike, and therefore it deserves a wide audience. When one considers the high costs today of publishing, especially the expense of photographic reproduction, the price of $15.00 is a most reasonable one.

American Forts begins with an "Introduction" that puts New World fortifications in their proper historical perspective. From the ancient period forward men have contrived structures for their physical safety. In the words of the Belgian scholar Henri Pirenne: "War is as old as humanity, and the construction of fortresses almost as old as war. The first buildings erected by man seem, indeed, to have been protecting walls." Miliary architecture varied according to time and place, but the configurations all were designed to meet the peculiar needs of the moment, be they the protection of a geographical area or an urban center. Because of skills required, engineering became the first really professional branch of European armies.

In America the colonizing powers—the Spanish, French, and English—built forts that reflected the military traditions of Europe, especially the theories of the greatest student of fortifications, Sebastien Le Prestre Vauban. But like the master himself,

designers in the New World were mindful of the presence—or absence—of wood, stone, water, and terrain, and of their relationship to each other. In chapter one, Robinson stresses that strongholds were erected so as to best contain the expansion of rival empires, and that usually meant positioning them in such a way as to dominate harbors and natural interior highways. So it was from the very earliest ones like Spain's Castillo de San Marcos and Fort Matanzas in Florida, to later ones like France's Fort Mourepas and Fort Chartres in the Mississippi Valley, and to still later ones like Britain's Fort Pitt and Fort Ticonderoga in the Ohio Valley.

The bulk of Robinson's study, chapter two through four, covers United States history, with chapter two detailing the nature of American fortifications in the Revolutionary era. The Continental Congress, with few exceptions, was almost totally dependent upon foreign officers to fill its newly created corps of engineers, which was headed by the able Frenchman, General Louis-Lebéque. Although Robinson's book is appropriately designed to be in large part pictorial in nature, it would have been helpful to have had a fuller account of the role of foreign engineers and of how American inadequacies in that field lent weight to the movement for the creation of a military academy in this country. In any event, Paul K. Walker's forthcoming documentary volume on engineers in the American Revolution will help to fill this and other voids in our knowledge of that subject.

Beginning at the end of the eighteenth century—as Robinson tells us in chapter three ("The Permanent System")—Congress increasingly turned its attention to the long-range fortification needs of the nation. Fortifications near major cities were abandoned or given secondary status in favor of forts built near the ocean so that they might thwart attacks from enemy fleets and deny to foreign vessels safe anchorage. Indeed, three classes of military structures were called for, each defined according to the degree of responsibility assigned it. Every defensive work was designed to contain artillery, garrisons, and bombproof magazines. In time, these defensive bastions stretched along the Atlantic coast and around the Gulf of Mexico to New Orleans. Some of the best illustrations from this phase include drawings and diagrams of Fort Pickens in Florida, Fort Macon in North Carolina, and Fortress Monroe in Virginia. But national defense was not confined to the watery perimeters. Forts intended to block possible invasions from Canada offer further disclaimers against the oft-repeated textbook myth that in the nineteenth century we shared with our northern neighbors a 3,000-mile undefended frontier. Among such distant outposts were Fort Wayne in Michigan and Fort Ontario in New York. (Not included here, but equally revealing, are British military constructions in Canada which the visitor may see today at Quebec and Kingston.)

Still another type of fortification, described in Robinson's concluding chapter, was "Land Frontier Forts." Largely intended to keep the Indians in check, they stretched across the continent and varied greatly as to form and design as one may see from comparing the drawings—for example—of Ford Harmar in Ohio and Fort Defiance in Arizona. Because of the absence of stone and because Indians usually had weapons of limited firepower, frontier garrisons usually occupied stations made of wooden materials, although in time adobe construction—with sun-dried bricks—became widespread in the Southwest. Yet another difference in the far west was that, from the vantage point of military function, forts were not intended to resist sieges but instead to serve as bases from which Indians could be pursued and subdued.

By treating a complex and neglected subject with clarity and apt illustrations, Mr. Robinson is to be congratulated on a first-rate achievement.

University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill DON HIGGINBOTHAM

Maryland a Bicentennial History. By Carl Bode. (New York: W. W. Norton, 1978. Pp. xvi, 204. $8.95.)

The Bicentennial has inspired a revival of interest in state and local history. Already Marylanders have a choice of two modern state histories (Fox and Walsh, *Maryland, A History 1632-1974* and Donald Dozer, *Maryland, Portrait of the Free State*) as well as a host of county histories. These join a number of impressive scholarly monographs on many aspects of Maryland's past. Carl Bode's *Maryland a Bicentennial History* is the most recent addition to this Bicentennial bookshelf. Arriving rather late on the scene, after the fever and frenzy to publish for '76 has died down, Bode's volume benefits from all that has gone before. Published as part of W. W. Norton's "The States and the Nation" series, it reflects the series' aim to interpret what the author finds significant and distinguishing within his state's history (p. xiii).

Bode has managed to pack nearly three and a half centuries of Maryland history into the series format of 200 pages. To do so, he has dispensed with the chronological recounting of past politics and wars. Instead he opted to emphasize "the quality of the Maryland experience" (p. xv) via a mosaic of persons whose lives illustrate and illuminate the past. He views Maryland through the eyes of individuals who shared time, space, and experiences with their less articulate fellows. Most of Bode's subjects were extraordinary, if not for their own accomplishments, for writing about the substance of their lives and times. From beginning to end, *Maryland a Bicentennial History* is the narrative of individual Marylanders.

Some of Bode's subjects, like Daniel Dulany and H. L. Mencken, are familiar individuals who have penetrating scholarly biographies. Others, like Severn Teackle Wallis, Bode's representative nineteenth-century man, are deserving of major biographical study. In the case of Wallis, we can only hope Bode, or another scholar, decides to make him as familiar to Marylanders as Dulany or Mencken. While Bode has chosen Dulany, Mencken, and Wallis to represent their centuries, and devoted large portions of the book to their lives and observations about society, he has not forgotten other Marylanders. Readers will not meet most of the state's political or religious leaders, but they will meet frontiersman Thomas Cresap, runaway slave John Thompson, and the William Prestons, a devoted middle class couple whose intimate letters reveal much of the spirit of the nineteenth century. The Revolutionary War is represented by Capt. William Beatty, Jr., who left a journal of his experiences before his war and his life ended at Hobkirk's Hill. And who better to represent the Eastern Shore than Joshua Thomas, the Methodist "parson of the islands."

It was not the series intent to introduce new scholarship, but Bode has used the most recent monographs, particularly in the field of social history, to great advantage. He masterfully sets the stage on which his subjects play, paying meticulous attention to the background. Within the scope of his narrative he invites readers to delve more deeply into the best available sources, always with an emphasis on biography. While he prefers the style of past historians Thomas Scharf and Matthew Andrews, he has not ignored the newly published works of contemporary scholars. There is nothing dated about his presentation of life and society in Maryland's past. But through all he clearly believes individuals should be central to understanding the past.

Bode's history is meant to be popular. Well written, briskly paced, it carries the reader from the dreams of a new world expressed by George Alsop to these expressed by James Rouse. Included also is a stunning photo essay by Don Carl Steffen. *Maryland a Bicentennial History* deserves to be read by strangers to our "shores," by

immigrant and native alike. The quest for quality in life, begun by the likes of Daniel Dulany in the seventeenth century is still current in the twentieth. And that quality shines through the pages of Bode's *Maryland.* In 200 pages a great deal of the state's essence is captured. Dulany, Wallis, and Mencken chose to remain here and make their mark, and Carl Bode helps explain why so much of America began here. Those who do not read this beautifully written volume will be the poorer, for Bode truly conveys the "quality of the Maryland experience."

Catonsville Community College BAYLY ELLEN MARKS

Walter Hines Page. The Southerner as American 1855–1918. By John Milton Cooper, Jr. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1977. Pp. xxx, 457. $15.95.)

Professor Cooper's biography of Walter Hines Page, the first in half a century, is a very good one. The book's eleven chapters are divided into three parts. Part I, tracing the first thirty years of Page's life, from 1855 to 1885, explores the North Carolinian's family background, southern boyhood, and early days in journalism. Part II, a much more detailed section, describes Page's career as publisher and reformer from 1885 to 1913. These years represent the most active and fulfilling period of Page's life, encompassing his work at *Atlantic Monthly* and *Forum,* his founding of *The World's Work,* the formation of Doubleday, Page & Company, and his reform activities in southern education. Part III is the longest and most detailed of the three sections, analyzing the last five years of Page's life, 1913–1918, when he served as American ambassador to the Court of St. James.

Cooper's theme is stated in the book's subtitle: "the Southerner as American." Indeed, says Cooper, Walter Page's "historical significance" and the "great theme that he illuminated" are contained in that phrase. Growing up in North Carolina during the Civil War, coming of age in the Reconstruction South, and earning fame and fortune as journalist and publisher in New York and Boston, Page experienced, as did many southerners between 1861 and the 1890s, an identity crisis. He and other post-war southerners suffered a certain ambiguity as to who they were and where their loyalties should lie, with the South or with the nation. As Cooper unfolds Page's story, he focuses attention on this dual consciousness, accounting for its development and describing its impact on Page's beliefs, ambitions, and personality.

Cooper suggests that Page, unlike many southerners of his generation, successfully reconciled these twin identities. Ever mindful of his southern heritage, Page's sympathies remained with his native region. Yet he defined his southerness and what it meant to be a southerner in terms of national goals and values. He acted, throughout his exciting career as teacher, journalist, publisher, author, reformer, and diplomat, as a spokesman for both "southern uplift" and "sectional reconcilation." Page shuddered at the myths of the Old South and the Lost Cause. He condemned the antebellum plantation system—including slavery and aristocratic pretension—for having perverted the southern character and for having drawn southern Americans into a disastrous war. The true southern character, Page insisted, was neither feudal nor despotic but democratic and well within the mainstream of national development. Educational reform, cultural revival, and agricultural improvement, he said, would resurrect the South's frustrated democratic inclinations. Eliminate, he prophesized, the "mummies," those southern conservatives who ignored the inevitability and desirability of educational and cultural reform, and the South would resume an honorable role in national development.

Page, then, was a "New South" man. Yet, he was also, as in all things, his own man. Page never advocated, as did such New South advocates as Henry Grady, reconstruction of the South and southern life along lines of northern industrial capitalism. Industrialism had its place, Page admitted, but he sought no wholesale adoption of transplanted Yankee customs and institutions. He yearned, instead, for preservation of those elements of southern life which had created the South's particular style. A "proper fusion of the old and the new," as Page put it, would restore and enhance the tarnished Americanism of the South without destroying southern identity.

Cooper's portrait of Page, based on eight years of extensive research in the United States and Great Britain, is a convincing one. Cooper's grasp of his sources, which includes scores of manuscript collections, some of them in private hands, as well as correspondence and interviews with people who knew Page, is impressive. Although clearly fond of Page, Cooper never succumbs to hero-worship or partisanship. He discusses Page's weaknesses and shortcomings as well as his virtues and accomplishments. He explains the multiple, sometimes conflicting, forces—identified as intellectual and literary aspirations; a desire to exert social, cultural, and political influence; and a desire to make money—which propelled Page through life. Also, while remembering that his story is about Walter Page, Cooper generally takes pains, as all good biographers must, to describe the world around Page and times in which he lived. Cooper accomplishes all this in admirable fashion, avoiding simplistic explanations which could easily obscure Page's complexity or misrepresent the spirit of his times. By avoiding such pitfalls, he produces a portrait of his subject rather than a caricature.

Of course, the book is not perfect. On a technical level, Cooper's notes might have been presented in a more orthodox form, and either the notes or the bibliography should have included mention of the most relevant secondary works on Page. More substantially, some readers might object to the emphasis Cooper places on certain episodes in Page's life. A prime example is the influence he attributes to a clash of parental personalities—that between Page's "hard-bitten businessman father" and his "warm, sympathetic mother"—in creating "certain sex-role connotations" for young Walter "that lasted throughout his life and shaped his attitudes and actions." But particularly regretable to this reviewer is the excessive space Cooper devotes to Page's years as ambassador to Great Britain. Cooper's discussion of Page's ambassadorial tenure and his relationship with Woodrow Wilson and Edward House undeniably contribute to our knowledge of Wilsonian diplomacy and increase our understanding of Wilson's war-time administration. Yet to dedicate one-third of the book to this five-year period, however complex and interesting it may have been, seems a bit excessive. Cooper is guilty of over-kill here, as he very nearly gives a day-by-day description of Page's activities during this time. Space and energy squandered here could have been used to elaborate on other parts of Page's career. For instance, Cooper might have scrutinized more closely northern reaction to Page as a southerner during his early years in the North. Likewise, more might have been said about how Page functioned as a southerner in Yankeedom. By 1885, when Page left the South for New York City, hundreds of ex-Confederates were already well-established in Gotham. Did these southerners form a social, political, or economic clique? Did Page belong to that clique? If so, what influence did membership have on his success as a publisher, writer, and reformer? These inquiries would have been well in keeping with Cooper's central theme.

Such objections, however, are minor. On the whole, Cooper answers more questions about Walter Page than he neglects. His portrayal of North Carolina's "intersectional ambassador" will stand as definitive for some time.

McNeese State University DANIEL E. SUTHERLAND

Biographical Dictionary of the Confederacy. Edited by Jon L. Wakelyn and Frank E. Vandiver. (Westport, Ct.: Greenwood Press, 1977. Pp. xii, 603. $29.95.)

Readers take warning! This is not just another biographical dictionary; it is a pioneering effort to construct a "collective biographical dictionary" about the leadership of the Civil War. The first sixty-eight pages constitute a classic introduction that explains the format of the book and how it conforms to the purposes of collective biography. Wakelyn explains here his notions about the nature of leadership and the particular criteria that he used in this volume. He also summarizes the prewar careers of these particular leaders, and the relevance of those experiences to their wartime activities. Then he gives us a general description of the leadership included in this study, and finishes with a discussion of their careers following the war. What the introduction does, then, is to introduce us to the conception of a "collective biographical dictionary," and to tell us how that notion shaped the content and form of this book.

The next 386 pages contain biographical sketches of 651 Confederate leaders, both men and women. The average description totals about 400 words and follows a fairly uniform format that conforms to the general theory of a "collective biographical dictionary" as outlined in the introduction. The order of each sketch usually runs: birth, education, marriage and religious information; occupational pursuits; political affiliations and interests, further identified by comparative names; political and/or other leadership careers; outstanding political activities; wartime activities; postwar activities; and brief citations to guides for further study. Actually, the uniformity of this format makes for easy reading and understanding.

But then follows three pages of a "Chronology of Events." I am not sure why such information is included, for it is neither useful nor informative. Certainly, the sophisticated specialists for whom this volume is intended will find nothing of interest here. Famous battles that high schoolers learn are listed, for example, but not the names of important campaigns of which they were merely a part. The Peninsula Campaign, to cite just one prominent and missing specific could surely have been a major heading and the battles that resulted from the strategy could have followed.

Nevertheless, everyone will be grateful for the five appendices, which total 111 pages, that follow this "chronology." Here are rich lodes of detailed information about the geographic mobility of the leaders both before and after the war, their principal occupations, religious affiliation, education, and prewar and postwar political affiliations. These appendices support the editors' general statements about the Confederate leaders. And if all of this is not enough, there follows a staggering bibliography and extremely useful index.

On balance, we have a very useful work here, one that serves as both a standard reference work and a guide for the further study of Confederate leaders. We also have a model of a "collective biographical dictionary" which structuralists in the historical profession should find interesting. And, most appropriately, the book is very attractive: its cover is Confederate Gray.

Maryland Historical Society GARY L. BROWNE

Difficulties Made Easy: History of the Turnpikes of Baltimore City and County. By William Hollifield. (Baltimore: Baltimore County Historical Society, 1978. Pp. iv, 92. $6.00.)

Difficulties Made Easy: History of the Turnpikes of Baltimore City and County is the first major work published by the Baltimore County Historical Society. It represents

nearly three years of research in turnpike company records, laws, old newspapers, courthouse records, census records, and personal interviews. The work began in early 1975 as a Bicentennial project and was expected to be completed in a short time and published in 1976. However, more information was found than had been anticipated and the work was not completed until 1977.

While good histories have been done on our area's railroads, steamboats, streetcars, and state roads, the turnpikes are one aspect of our transportation history that has not been given much attention. The first published source on local turnpikes was the Maryland Geological Survey Commission's excellent 1899 volume on Maryland roads. However, much of this was a survey of existing roads rather than a history of individual turnpikes, and in 1899 the turnpikes were still in operation so the Commission could not have completed the story by describing the end of the existence of the turnpikes. Joseph Austin Durrenberger included material on local turnpikes in his 1931 *Turnpikes: A Study of the Toll Road Movement in the Middle Atlantic States and Maryland;* however, his coverage was of a more general nature and concentrated more on the other states than Maryland.

The goal of the present book was to incorporate as much data as could be found about the turnpikes in the city and county. Thus, there are details of road construction, tolls, milestones, and lists of company officials as well as accounts of amusing incidents, robberies, fights, and even murders. Special attention was given to the locations of tollgates and details of the lives of the tollgate keepers.

There are seven pages of footnotes. An intentional effort was made to avoid the use of Latin phrases and their abbreviations. There does not seem to be any point in using *ibid.,* which is an abbreviation for the Latin *ibidem,* when the unabbreviated English word "same" will suffice and is more readily understood by the general public.

Maryland Historical Society GARY L. BROWNE

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BOOK NOTES

The Howard University Bibliography of African and Afro-American Religious Studies: With Locations in American Libraries. Compiled by Ethel L. Williams and Clifton F. Brown. (Wilmington, Del.: Scholarly Resources Inc., 1977. Pp. xxii, 525. $24.95.) Perhaps the most important theme in recent slavery scholarship has been the emphasis on the inner world of the blacks. John Blassingame, Eugene Genovese, Herbert Gutman, Lawrence Levine, Peter Wood, all have stressed not the external forces on the slaves but rather the cultural world the blacks created for themselves. No other aspect of the indigenous black culture was more important than religion, and the *Howard University Bibliography* will prove a most useful guide for its study. More than 13,000 primary and secondary sources are listed, arranged alphabetically by author under five broad topics: African heritage; Christianity and slavery in the New World; the black man and his religious life in the Americas; the civil rights movement, 1954–1967; and the contemporary religious scene. When the titles of published sources do not adequately indicate their contents, concise annotation is provided. Moreover, at least one library location is supplied for each source listed. The table of contents further subdivides the five major fields, and a complete author index gives additional bibliographical contol. Two appendices contain references to often overlooked material: manuscripts dealing with Afro-American religion and autobiographical and biographical works. By first examining the table of contents if one knows the precise bounds of his subject, or by going directly to the index if one knows the relevant author, the researcher will find this an eminently practical tool. [John B. Boles, Tulane University]

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NEWS AND NOTICES

Kenneth W. Amrhine, 1210 Havenwood Road, Baltimore, MD 21218 is researching a Baltimore marine artist, Otto Muhlenfeld (1866–1907) and would appreciate information from anyone having knowledge of the man or his works.

New collections in the Manuscript Division at the Maryland Historical Society include the records of Jesse Tyson and Sons from 1800–26. The firm dealt in flour, grain, and tobacco and traded with South America, Africa, England, and Mexico. The large collection of Senator George L. Radcliffe's papers include material on his years in the U.S. Senate (1934–46), especially the campaigns, and his interests in banking, farming, history, and law. The Manuscript Division is the repository for two recent projects to document ethnic and family history in Baltimore. Papers on ethnic and family backgrounds were written by students at Towson State University for a Maryland Bicentennial Project in ethnic heritage and by students at the University of Maryland Baltimore County. Some of these papers contain manuscript and visual materials as well as the papers the students wrote after interviewing family members. The family backgrounds include immigrants from China, Czechoslovakia, Germany, Italy, Nicaragua, Poland, and Sweden, as well as Jewish, Black, and rural families who moved to Baltimore.

The Manuscript Division is reprocessing several of its larger collections in order to make them more accessible to researchers. Reorganizing the papers of Baltimore merchant Robert Oliver (1759–1834) brought to light Oliver's correspondence with Maryland Federalists and with Christopher Hughes (1786–1849). The nine Ridgely family papers have been reorganized. The records of Col. Charles Ridgely (1702/3–72) and those of his son Capt. Charles Ridgely (1733–90) detail English colonial trade, the Ridgely iron works, and political developments in Baltimore County from 1777 until 1787. A group of Roger B. Taney letters was found in the Perine Family Papers. Perine had possession of these letters as executor of Taney's estate. Especially interesting are the letters (1833–37) between Taney and Thomas Ellicott concerning the Bank of Maryland affair.

The former Maritime Curator at the Society has recently reviewed all significant maritime manuscripts, reorganized the collections, and prepared some guides.

In addition a card file is being prepared listing alphabetically by name all those vessels mentioned in our collection of maritime manuscripts. These cards give the rig, the master, the owner and the date and origin or destination of each voyage. Shipbuilding and registration data are included, if available. The cargo is described by use of a simple code. As yet, cross references of these data have not been possible because of the labor involved. This file also serves as a location reference for the data in the original manuscript.

Copies of Maryland's new state history, written by Carl Bode, were presented to Governor Blair Lee, III, during a ceremony sponsored by the American Association for State and Local History on Tuesday, June 13, at the Statehouse. Dr. Bode and Governor Lee delivered a few brief remarks, as did several other representatives from national and Maryland historical and cultural organizations. Drew Gruenburg attended the ceremony on behalf of the Maryland Historical Society.

THE GREEN SPRING VALLEY

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The Green Spring Valley: Its History and Heritage, made possible through the generosity of the Middendorf Foundation, Inc., is on sale now at the Maryland Historical Society for $35.00 and can be ordered by mail. All mail orders must be prepaid. Add $2.00 for postage and handling. Maryland residents include $1.75 for sales tax.

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